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California Historical Quarterly

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Published continuously since 1922, the *California Historical Quarterly* is the Society's ongoing vehicle of inquiry and the only magazine exclusively devoted to California history from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, book reviews, and pictorial essays explore the state's social, economic, political, ethnic, and aesthetic heritage, encouraging examination of the interplay between the past and present.

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COVER

Preserved in this silvery 1851 quarter-plate (3¼ x 4¼") daguerreotype is the image of an intense but unidentified young gentleman-scholar of San Francisco. A groundbreaking study of the early studio portraitist, William Shew, whose name is stamped on the handsome case holding the daguerreotype, and the social impact in California of the nineteenth-century reality-recording process begins on page 2. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

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Wendy Cunkle Calmenson

'Likenesses taken in the most approved style'

The daguerreotype, the first perfected method of photography, crossed the Atlantic from France to the United States in 1839. A process in which pure silver was plated onto a sheet of copper, then exposed to chemicals and light and more chemicals, daguerreotyping produced an image on a mirror-like surface of unsurpassed delicacy and tonal subtlety.[1]

Introduced at a time when Americans were seeking to express visually a growing awareness of national feeling and destiny, the daguerreotype (named after L. J. M. Daguerre) made possible a permanent accurate record of people (particularly, national heroes), places, and events, and contributed to a sense of shared experience, history, and national character. As for the role of the daguerreotypist, historian Richard Rudisill has reflected that:

> The daguerreotypist must be seen as a type of "Universal Man" who participated in all aspects of his society—he performed as an eclectic aesthetic technologist, he responded to the tug of westering and national growth, he deliberately summarized the traits of his age and sought to define its character by providing it with visible symbols of its ideals. He served his age as a descriptive artist and a didactic guide—in all these roles using his camera paired with his own sensitivity to show the nation to itself.[2]

Of all the cities in America, San Francisco was perhaps the most frequently daguerreotyped. World-wide curiosity about the new and socially fluid "City of Gold" and the desire of its proud citizens to send home local portraits made the plates of the daguerreotypist in constant demand. Historian Beaumont Newhall documents fifty photographers at work in San Francisco between 1850 and 1864,[3] a mere fourteen years after the complicated process arrived on the distant coast of the United States. Of these practitioners, perhaps a dozen were serious



Ms. Calmenson, employed by the University of California Press, is production editor and book designer of a forthcoming collection of essays by early twentieth-century art and photo critic, Sadakichi Hartmann. She is also engaged in research on the Juneau, Alaska, photographic partnership of Lloyd Winter and Edwin Pond, 1886–1943.

William Shew, *pioneer daguerreotypist*

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craftsmen skilled in their trade who carved out long-term successful careers; the remainder were dentists, lawyers, merchants, and artists who flirted with the world of the photographic image for a short period and then abandoned it for something more profitable.

One of the city's earliest photographers, however, William Shew, opened a studio in San Francisco in 1851 and for some fifty years until his death in 1903 produced fine photographs. Although neither an innovator nor a modern legend such as his contemporaries Eadweard Muybridge and Carleton Watkins, Shew maintained a successful photographic studio for over a half-century based on his consistent quality and craftsmanship. In a period when steadfastness seemed an unattainable norm for San Francisco's business community, William Shew's tenacity and loyalty to the pioneer city contributed substantially to the growth of its artistic and business life.

When William Shew debarked at San Francisco's Yerba Buena Cove from the U.S. *Tennessee*,[4] a mail steamer traveling from Panama, on March 4, 1851,[5] he found a city of men with the desire to grow rich and make their mark—if not in the gold fields, then through the commerce and industry that accompanied the Gold Rush. Populated by a mere 812 people in 1848, the city housed over 25,000 people by 1850. Half were foreign and less than 10 per cent were women. San Francisco had become a bustling, urban, cosmopolitan city whose inhabitants firmly believed that "every man had an equal right to an equal chance to his fair share of fortune."[7]

Shew was not the first daguerreotypist to find his way to San Francisco. Most likely a woman, Julie Shannon, was the city's earliest photographer. Advertising in the January 29, 1850, issue of the *Alta California*, she capitalized on the unavailability of women in the bustling town of gold miners and merchants:

> Those wishing to have a good likeness are informed that they can have them taken in a very superior manner, and by a *real live lady* too, in Clay St. opposite the St. Francis Hotel, at a very moderate charge. Give her a call, gents.[7]

On "one moonshiny night" in 1851, William Shew "trundled his studio onto the vacant lot opposite our office" —a move documented in this whole-plate daguerreotype, probably by Shew.

In September of the same year, Mrs. Shannon advertised in the *City Directory* as both a midwife and daguerreotypist: "Mrs. Shannon, Midwife, corner of Clay and Dupont Sts., at her Dageurrian (sic) Rooms, or Stockton St., opposite the hospital."[8] Julie Shannon's photographic efforts were short-lived, however, and by 1852 she was listed only as midwife.[9]

Two other daguerreotypists also advertised in the September, 1850, *City Directory*: W. Henry Bradley, who later formed a successful, long-standing partnership with William Rulofson;[10] and Fred Coombs, who became well-known for his daguerreotype views of Montgomery Street.[11] In January, 1851, the *Alta California* paid homage to a five-plate panoramic view of the city of San Francisco taken by S. C. McIntyre, "dentist turned daguerreotypist" from Tallahassee, Florida. The panorama, it was reported, was destined for the "World's Industrial Convention" in London:[12]

> Decidedly the finest thing in the fine arts produced in this city, which we have seen, is a consecutive series of Daguerrean plates, five in number, arranged side by side so as to give a view of our entire city and harbor. . . . This picture, for such it may be termed, although the first attempt, is nearly perfect. It is admirable in execution as well as design.[13]

By the time William Shew arrived in March, 1851, however, both McIntyre and Coombs had disappeared from city records. Thus Shew's fellow photographers in his first year included only Bradley and one P. G. Clark, who opened his "Eureka Daguerrean Rooms" on Montgomery Street in the same year as Shew.[14]

It is difficult to know what drew the thirty-one-year-old William Shew to California. His younger brother, Jacob, had succumbed to "gold fever" and found himself in Calaveras County in July, 1849, as a miner.[15] Perhaps Jacob wrote home of the wonders of the "golden land" and William decided to follow.

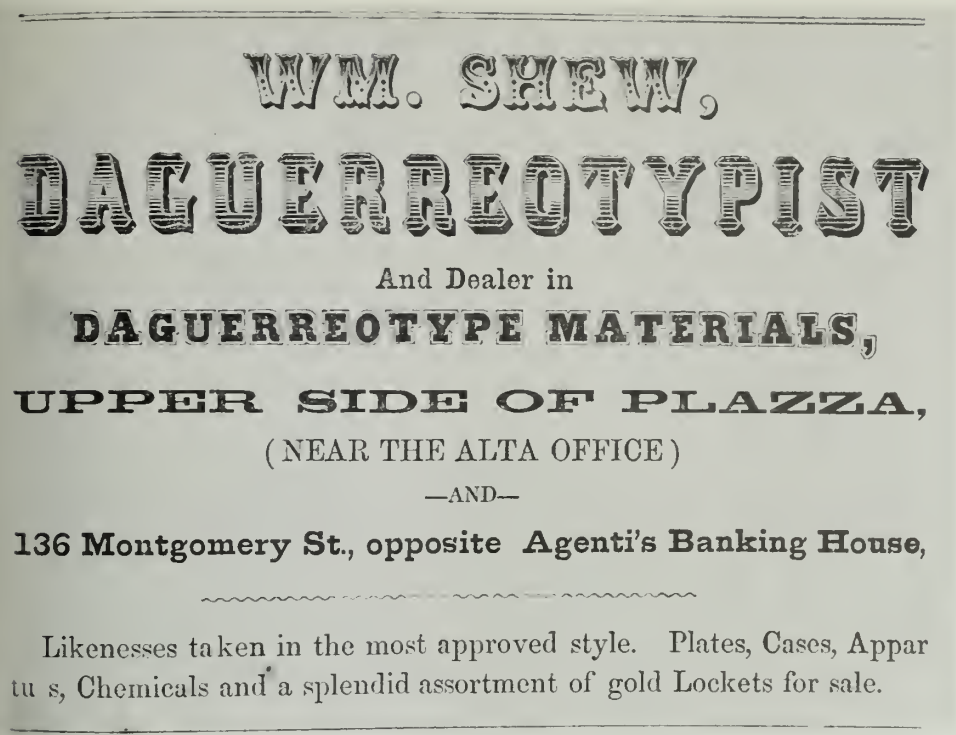
William's history before his arrival in San Francisco is sketchy. Born in March, 1820,[16] on a farm near Watertown in Jefferson County, New York,[17] William had three brothers—Myron, Jacob, and Trueman—who were all involved in photography throughout their lives. He also had two sisters, Laura and Anna Margaret.

> *"Mr. Shew, to show his independence, trundled his studio—most artistically selecting one moonshiny night last week for the removal—onto the vacant lot opposite our office."*
>
> *Alta California*, October 6, 1851

Although trained as a school teacher, William became interested in photography after reading an article by Samuel Morse which described the new daguerreotype process. William and his brothers studied with Morse in 1840 and subsequently made several unsuccessful attempts to introduce photographic studios in Watertown, Ogdensburg, and Rochester, New York. The Shew brothers then moved to New York City, where they formed the firm of L. P. Hayden & Co., 1 Park Place, for the manufacture and sale of daguerreotype materials.[18]

In 1841 the noted daguerreotypist John Plumbe hired William to superintend his gallery in Boston; William's brothers worked for Plumbe in Philadelphia and Baltimore.[19] By 1844 William ran his own gallery in Boston[20] where he manufactured daguerreotype cases as well as took portraits. Recognized as one of the earliest makers of cases which were art objects in themselves, William favored rose-colored frames with a solitary, rose design.[21]

Showing apparent family solidarity, all the Shew brothers and sisters seem to have traveled West at mid-century. Jacob arrived in 1849, followed by William in 1851. Trueman's presence in San Francisco cannot be



Featuring "likenesses taken in the most approved style," Shew advertised his "daguerreian saloon" in the 1852 City Directory.

positively documented, however a possible reference to him is found in the 1852 *City Directory* where a T. Shew is listed with a clothing shop on 124 Montgomery.[22] Anna Margaret surfaced only once, when she married a William Sherman in 1858 at the Unitarian Church in San Francisco.[23] Laura appeared in the city directory from 1862 to 1885 as an adjuster at the U.S. Branch Mint in San Francisco.[24] Myron first appeared in city records in 1865, when he began work with William at his studio, and he apparently moved in and out of the photographic world (with a brief stint at the Customs House) until his death in 1891.[25]

William was married (probably in Boston) to an Elisabeth Marie, who soon joined him in California.[26] Their only child—a daughter named Theodora Alice—was born in 1849 in Boston.[27] After Elisabeth died of typhoid in 1889, William married a woman twenty-nine years his junior named Annie K. Haven. They had no children.[28]

William's first San Francisco studio was a small gallery on wheels sent in advance from Boston. This portable gallery could be wheeled out of the path of the frequent fires occurring in the city built of wood. Its first location was on Dupont Street near Clay, and, after a fire, he moved the gallery to Portsmouth Square. A few days later, however, he was ordered out by city authorities, who feared that he might lay claim to the lot if allowed to stay too long.[29] The following account of his ensuing battle with City Council appeared in the *Alta California* for October 6, 1851:

> Mr. Shew had no show, it seems, before the Common Council, in reference to the matter of depositing his Daguerrean Omnibus on the Plaza. . . . Mr. Shew, therefore, to show his independence, trundled his studio—most artistically selecting one moonshiny night last week for the removal —onto the vacant lot on Washington St., opposite our office.[30]

William remained on this second lot for almost a year, when, in 1852, he placed his first advertisement in the *City Directory*:

> Daguerreotypist and dealer in daguerreotype materials, upper side of the Plaza; near the 'Alta' office. Likenesses taken in the most approved Style, and apparatus, Plates, Cases, Chemicals and Gold Lockets for sale in quantities to suit purchasers.[31]

In 1853 Shew moved into a building on Clay Street between Kearny and Montgomery. Two months later a fire burned him out, and he then moved to Montgomery Street, where he operated studios at various addresses until 1871. Secure in his Montgomery Street studio, Shew advertised: "423 Montgomery is the best place in the world to obtain good photographs, ambrotypes, and



card pictures of which fact any one will be convinced who will give him a call."[32]

By 1871, however, Kearny Street had become the fashionable center of the arts, and Shew accordingly moved to a Kearny address. Here he remained at various numbers until his death in 1903. Shew's advertisement in the 1874 *City Directory* reflected his apparent satisfaction with his new location: "This magnificent establishment has more room, larger lights, and does better work than any other and none but the most accomplished artists employed."[33]

With the exception of the on-again, off-again partnership with brothers Myron and Jacob, William went into business with another daguerreotypist only once during his extended San Francisco career. In the January, 1856, *City Directory*, Shew listed with a Charles Hamilton on 163 Clay St.[34] This partnership, however, lasted less than a year, and Hamilton listed with a new partner in the October, 1856, *Directory*.[35]

Shew's changing preferences in studio locations notwithstanding, his satisfied patrons included the well-to-do of San Francisco. Among his clients were such notables as David Broderick, Captain John A. Sutter, General William Sherman, and Horace Greeley. Jacob Leese, a pioneer of 1835 who erected the first house in San Francisco, also sat for Shew, as did the famous actress of 1852, Kate Bateman, who starred for many months at the Jenny Lind Theatre in San Francisco.[36]



Shew's imperial-plate daguerreotype (8x10"), one-half of a panoramic view from the corner of Kearny and Clay streets looking east to abandoned ships in the harbor, is thought to be the oldest known photograph of San Francisco. Its correct date is probably 1851.

Ismael Abrego, son of Don Jose Abrego, the first Mexican treasurer of California at Monterey, presented this half-plate daguerreotype in a very rare tortoise-shell case to his sweetheart in Santa Cruz. Abrego probably sat for Shew in 1851.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, the Transcendentalist philosopher, was also photographed by Shew. While many people at this time believed, with Emerson, that the camera could reveal more than the naked eye could see and mystically capture both nature and the inner character of the sitter,[37] Emerson had a more immediate response. In his *Journal* entry for October 24, 1841, he described the experience of sitting for a portrait—and possibly for Shew himself who was operating Plumbe's prestigious Boston gallery at the time.

Were you ever daguerreotyped, O immortal man? And did you look with all vigor at the lens of the camera, or rather, by direction of the operator, at the brass peg a little below it, to give the picture the full benefit of your expanded and flashing eye? and in your zeal not to blur the image, did you keep every finger in its place with such energy that your hands became clenched as for fight or despair, and in your resolution to keep your face still, did you feel every muscle becoming every moment more rigid: the brows contracted into a Tartarean frown, and the eyes fixed as they are fixed in a fit, a madness, or in death?[38]

Regrettably, Shew's numerous daguerreotypes of the famous men of nineteenth-century America have been lost. Those on display in his gallery, including Emerson's, were destroyed after Shew's death at the time of the 1906 earthquake and fire.

Recognition of Shew's contributions to a nation's self-image remains only in an article published upon his death.

The Shew gallery was for decades of years the place where prominent people elected to have their photographs taken. The builders of the commonwealth sat to Shew. The poli-

ticians, the statesmen, the ministers, the lawyers, the physicians, the belles and beaux, the children and enfants found their way to him, and as a result the history of the State and city can be traced through his daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, photographs, collection of well-preserved wet plate negatives, and the enlarged portraits that have, through the years, graced the walls of his reception room.[39]

The same article also mentions that in Shew's last years, society people had sought younger, more fashionable photographers, although he was still patronized by merchants, residents of the nearby Chinatown, soldiers from the Presidio, and middle-class families.

Primarily a studio photographer, Shew ventured beyond San Francisco on only one documented occasion in his fifty-two-year career, perhaps because he was awaiting arrival of his first portable studio wagon being shipped by way of Cape Horn. Shew and his brother Jacob, who had returned to photography from the gold fields, joined the J. Wesley Jones Expedition shortly after William's arrival in San Francisco. In 1851 Jones set out to photograph the West from the Pacific Ocean to the Mississippi River. From a total of some 1500 daguerreotypes he commissioned artists to paint a huge "panto-scope" of the West, first exhibited in Boston in 1852. This invaluable collection, too, has been lost.[40]

Shew's involvement in the artistic and professional life of San Francisco can be explored primarily through his support of local photographic societies. By 1865 photographic establishments in the city centered on Montgomery Street, with some activity on Kearny and Market, where competing firms lined up door after door on the same block.

This competition and occasional outright antagonism led the city's working photographers to form the San Francisco Photographic Artists Association on August 5, 1866.[41] The Association, of which William Shew was named a trustee,[42] also sought to protect already established photographers from competition from the numerous new photographic businesses opening in the city. Significantly, the association was listed under "Protective Societies" in the *City Directory* for 1867.[43]

The Association's preamble opened with a concise statement of purpose:

> The photographic artists of San Francisco having long been convinced that they have been perverting what should be an honorary rivalry in business into what they feel to be a most ruinous antagonism, have resolved to abate the evil they all deplore. The object of the association is to establish such rules and regulations among the members of the art against the various abuses it at present labors under.[44]

Continuing on, the preamble emphasized the degradation of the art through price competition:

> This honorable artistic profession . . . vitiates the public taste by making cheapness the test of excellence, and degrades the profession of the artist below that of the common day laborer.[45]

Apparently, rivalries could not be transcended by mere statements of agreement, for the city's first professional photographic society ceased to exist by 1868, and it was seven years later, in February, 1875, before a second photographic society was organized.[46]

Like the early organization, the new Photographic Art Society of the Pacific was established with economic motivations, primarily to resist imposition of a municipal tax on photographers as manufacturers.[47] Shew, also active in this society, was elected and re-elected treasurer.[48]

The association, however, apparently soon became embroiled in controversy and suffered a split in membership over an unknown issue which brought about its demise in 1878.[49] While William's involvement in these local associations indicates that he was a respected and vital part of the photographic community, no record exists of the probable exchange of ideas which took place between Shew and his colleagues, and it is difficult to assess the influence Shew may have had on his fellow photographers.

"Were you ever daguerreotyped, O immortal man? . . . In your zeal not to blur the image, did you keep every finger in its place with such energy that your hands became clenched as for fight or despair . . . and the eyes fixed as they are fixed in a fit, a madness, or in death?"

Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1841



A youthful General William Tecumseh Sherman was among Shew's famous patrons, but this handsome daguerreotype from 1853 has been lost.



Shew's c.1865 half-plate ambrotype of a young girl reflected photography's experimentation with the new wet-plate glass negatives from which paper prints could be produced.



Jacob Shew's daguerreotypes, such as this half-plate (4½x5½") of the young daughter of Serranus Clinton Hastings of the Hastings College of Law, were acclaimed at the 1860 Sacramento State Fair.

By 1869, when Jacob produced this charming family carte de visite *(2¼x4"), he had again relocated in San Francisco near William.*



More is known about another important aspect of William Shew's professional as well as personal life, his relationship with his brother Jacob, who also became a prominent San Francisco photographer. By 1851 Jacob had forsaken gold-mining and returned to San Francisco to work as a daguerreotypist.[50] Five years later he left San Francisco for Sacramento and set up his own studio on J Street.[51]

Both Jacob and William exhibited their work at the 1860 State Fair in Sacramento with varying acclaim. A reviewer wrote that "Mr. [Jacob] Shew has a show case, a frame of beautifully executed specimens of the daguerreotype, an art almost become obsolete."[52] He dismissed William as displaying "some very creditable specimens of the art, but they are most all worked in India ink [rather than color-tinted] and, of course, cannot so well illustrate the progress of the art."[53]

Jacob returned to San Francisco in 1861, where he worked as a clerk at the U.S. Branch Mint for a year[54] before joining William in his studio.[55] Moving on, in 1863 he associated with Charles Hamilton (William's old partner)[56] and by 1864 had his own gallery on Montgomery Street, one block from William.[57] In 1865 and again in 1867 he moved his gallery, and then settled back on Montgomery Street in 1872.[58] William in the meantime had moved to the more fashionable Kearny Street.

The Photographic Artists Association elected Jacob a trustee in 1866, the same year as William,[59] and by 1875 Jacob had become a prominent figure among San Francisco photographers. He was elected the first vice-president of the Photographic Society of the Pacific and president the next year.[60]

William and Jacob's respective positions in the emerging photographic community indicate some of the personal differences between the two brothers. Jacob was more gregarious than William and perhaps more re-

nowned. William's skill appears to have been sustained effort and detail, leading to success in business matters. While there is no record of William's participation in social clubs, Jacob was noted as being a member of the Knights of Pythias, the Templar Lodge (International Order of Odd Fellows), the Damon Lodge, and vice-president of the Society of California Pioneers. Though outgoing and social, Jacob never married.[61]

Along with his active social life, Jacob was distinguished from William by his wanderlust. Jacob's work and lifestyle evidenced a restless quality not apparent in William's. Although Jacob was younger by six years, it was he who traveled west with the Argonauts of '49, not as a daguerreotypist, but as a fortune-seeking gold miner. William, on the other hand, left for California to make his fortune at the trade he knew—photography. Once arrived, William remained in San Francisco for the rest of his life, while Jacob moved his home and business several times between Calaveras County, Sacramento, and San Francisco.

A reversal in Jacob's business occurred after a fire burned down his Montgomery Street gallery in 1878. When he reopened his studio on Market Street, his business was poor and, by his own report, very dull. Then, on February 3, 1879, Jacob shot himself in the head with a revolver.[62]

Every San Francisco paper covered Jacob's death, two of them with front-page articles. An impressive picture of his stature in the community emerges. The *Alta*, for instance, wrote:

> Jacob Shew had a wide range of personal acquaintance and friendship in San Francisco. He was an intelligent man, active in mind, agreeable in manners, fond of company, and a member of many associations. His reputation as a citizen, a gentleman, and a business man was, so far as we have heard, without a stain. . . . Myron Shew testified that he never heard him make any threats against his life; he drank occasionally but never to excess; he complained of his business being dull, and the witness' impression was that the deceased was financially embarrassed.[63]

Much of the information concerning Jacob's suicide—his financial situation and his relationship with his family—is unknown. It is interesting to note, however, that Jacob was buried by the Templar Lodge rather than by his family.[64]

Whatever their personal differences, both William and Jacob were active in political issues of the day. Jacob served on the Republican State Central Committee for the election of Lincoln in 1860[65] and was later a member of the Ancient Order of the Druids, whose purpose was to bind the wounds between North and South after the Civil War.

William held the anti-slavery Free-Soil Convention of 1852 in his rooms on Montgomery Street.[66] While a majority of the party had returned to the Democratic fold by this year, William apparently had enough antipathy to the expansion of slavery into the territories to maintain his support for the Free-Soil Party. Having lived in Boston in 1848 when Frederick Douglass' autobiography was published by the Boston Abolition Society, William must have been exposed to the abolitionist fervor of the time. His portraits of David Broderick and Horace Greeley, both influential abolitionists, may thus take on an added significance.

However politically committed, William was nevertheless principally devoted to photography as "art," and he considered himself foremost an "artist." He expressed these views in an article on the history of photography which he wrote for *California Monthly Magazine* in 1854. In this article Shew shared a romantic and, at that time, popular view of the photograph:

> The subject [photography] has a charming and romantic interest, growing out of the many pleasing associations connected with it. . . . This is especially the case with those, like most Californians, far distant from the hallowed associations of early life. . . . The son or brother as he gazes on the true,

Actress Kate Bateman played to packed houses at the Jenny Lind Theatre in 1852, and her rival admirers must have envied Shew the private sitting which produced this daguerreotype.



Shew's half-plate daguerreotype (4½x5½") of "Newspaper Row" on Montgomery Street captures top-hatted businessmen (including, perhaps, Sam Brannan) posing in the sun with newspaper samples.

reflected likeness of a revered parent, now no more, or of a loved sister, whom he has not seen for years . . . blesses the art that can thus immortalize their images. The subject, therefore, is one which, with us all, is consecrated as a tributary to our holiest affections.[67]

Although the article focused on the invention of the daguerreotype, some of the man Shew was revealed. Most notable were his conviction that it was not the customer who was always right and his belief in the superiority of photography in America over the state of the art in Europe:

Photography also commends itself to our attention for the unparalleled success which has attended its progress in this country—which has been so marked as almost to stamp it with a national character, for which, as Americans, we have just cause of feeling a laudable pride—it being the only branch of the fine arts in which we decidedly excel our European contemporaries.[68]

In this view, Shew echoed the remarks of New York *Tribune* editor Horace Greeley who exclaimed in 1851, after America captured every gold medal awarded in daguerreotype at the Crystal Palace Exposition in London: "In daguerreotypes, we beat the world!"[69]

In his 1854 history of photography, Shew also took pains to distinguish between the fly-by-night, mechanical daguerreotypist and the artist:

Correct taste with the public, however, rapidly improved and they soon learned to distinguish between the beautiful productions of the true artist, and the miserable caricatures of the mere mechanical daguerreotypist. . . . In San Francisco this class are not to be found, owing to the liberal patronage of the public. . . . It is true that nearly three years since, the specimens at the doors of two or three establishments on Montgomery Street were graced with signs of "daguerreotypes for $3;" but these were only the closing efforts of third or fourth-rate artists, none of whom now remains to discredit the art by their miserable pretensions.[70]

(Shew neglected to mention that "nearly three years since," he had himself advertised, "We make babies for $3.00.")[71] William also stressed his preference for the





The urge to be photographed moved people in all walks of life, including this woman of the church who visited Shew sometime before 1871 for a wet-plate card portrait (2½x4″).





Tassles, colonnades, and a drape characterized Shew's wet-plate card photographs of the mid-1860 Montgomery Street studios.

Photography . . . [is] the only branch of the fine arts in which we decidedly excel our European contemporaries.

William Shew, July, 1854



daguerreotype over the paper print: "They are not equal in appearance and beauty of finish to daguerreotypes, and probably never will become so."[72]

Two years later the discovery of the ambrotype, a wet-plate process, was announced in the *Alta*,[73] (although its actual invention had been accomplished in 1851). Wet-plate negatives, exposed and developed before the photographic chemicals had hardened, could be used to make numbers of paper prints, or could be transformed into a single, positive image called an ambrotype by placing the glass negative against a black background, because the dense areas of negative reflected light while the more transparent areas allowed the black backing to show through. Like the daguerreotype, the ambrotype was usually enclosed in a case; the ambrotype, however, did not have the polish of the silver-plated daguerreotype nor its magical mirrored surface so revered by Shew.

In 1862, six years after the announcement of the ambrotype in San Francisco, Shew briefly acquiesced to progress and began calling his studio a "photographic," rather than a "daguerrian," gallery.[74] The next year, however, Shew returned to advertising as a "daguerrian" gallery but added that ambrotypes and card pictures were taken as well.[75]

Carte de visite or card photographs, exchanged among family and friends, became popular in the early 1860's and led to the appearance of the family album. Usually measuring 2½ x 4″ in size, albums were made with recessed pockets in each leaf to hold and display the card photos. A new size was introduced in 1866 to stimulate



Among Shew's customers were Fung Loud, who sat for Shew in 1887, and an unidentified woman. Their cabinet-size photographs were produced from dry plates available since the mid-1870's.

business after the Civil War. This second size measured 4 x 5½" and was called the cabinet photograph.[76]

Until 1873, when the dry plate became accessible on the open market, Shew made only wet plates—either the singular ambrotypes or the paper-printed card pictures. The soon-triumphant celluloid roll film became available in the late 1880's, but many photographers, undoubtedly including the traditional Shew, continued to use glass well into the twentieth century.

A final evaluation of William Shew's photographs, like those of most early photographers, is difficult. Representative daguerreotypes and ambrotypes are scattered between several public institutions[77] and private collectors, but no large number of his works are known. As well, early photographers often did not add any identifying sign on their images, and the result is large numbers of "anonymous" daguerreotypes and ambrotypes in public collections. Further, most museum and library collections catalog their photographs by subject rather than by photographer. Photographer files contain photographs of people or places that are unidentifiable in any other way, and most photographers' images are thus inaccessible to the researcher.

Of existing William Shew plates, perhaps the most well-known is the five-plate panoramic view of San Francisco taken in 1851 from Rincon Point and now held by the Smithsonian Institution. This photograph is reproduced in Beaumont Newhall's *The Daguerreotype in America*, and it shows ships cluttering the harbor, abandoned by men who had caught "gold fever."[78]

The large image (4x5½") of the cabinet photograph, introduced after the Civil War, drew this composed San Francisco couple to Shew's studio.





Dressed as Cardinal Richelieu in 1880 for an author's carnival held in the pavilion at Eighth and Market streets, Shew posed for his own camera in this cabinet-size portrait.

As for Shew's many portraits, they are extremely simple in approach. He utilized direct frontal lighting and either moved close to his subject without props or stood back for a full view. In the custom of the time he often added a round, covered table or a chair and drape as visual props. He seemed to favor an ornate drape with an elaborate tassle for portraits, and the same marble stand also shows in many of his card pictures. Occasionally, a painted backdrop appears as well. His early daguerreotypes are as simple as the card pictures and rarely show evidence of the popular color tinting.

Some observations can be made about the relationship of Shew's work to the photographic world around him. In the fifty-two years that Shew photographed in San Francisco, many photographers moved in and out of his world. Carleton Watkins, perhaps the most famous photographer of early California, moved his studio next to Shew in 1865.[79] Watkins, most noted for his work in Yosemite and the Sierra Nevada, named his gallery the "Yosemite Art Gallery." Eadweard Muybridge, significant for his early landscape work and later sequential studies of human and animal movement, also began working on Montgomery Street in the 1860's.[80] I.W. Taber launched his successful business across from the Palace Hotel in 1871.[81] By 1900 Arnold Genthe, famous for his studies of San Francisco's Chinatown, operated a studio on Grant Avenue.[82]

In the face of this constant influx of new creative energy and talent, William's work appears to have been unchanged and consistently his own. He never took advantage of the mobility gained by the introduction of the dry plate in 1873, and while others moved out into the streets and traveled throughout the West, William remained singularly focused on the studio portrait.

Perhaps this devotion to traditional methods at a time when photographic techniques developed rapidly explains why William Shew's death on February 5, 1903, passed without notice. Not until three months later, on May 3, did a newspaper article eulogize the prominent California pioneer.

After his death, Annie Shew, his second wife, took over the studio, listing herself as "photographer" in the 1904 *City Directory*.[83] Two years later the 1906 earthquake and fire destroyed the row of photographic studios on Kearny Street, and all Shew's intact glass negatives and business records were lost. Annie Shew continued to live in San Francisco (sometimes listing herself as "artist" in the directory) until her death in 1930. Her legacy of $300 was barely enough to cover the costs of lawyer and burial.[84]

William Shew is buried in Mountain View Cemetery in Oakland. There are no gravestones on the plot, nor markings of any sort, with the exception of his daughter's married name, Meade, engraved in the border marking the family gravesite.

The photograph on pages 2-3 is courtesy the Exchange National Bank of Chicago; on pages 13, 15, and 16, courtesy the CHS Library; on pages 6, 7, 9, and 13, courtesy The Bancroft Library; and on 10, 14, and 16, courtesy Joan Murray. The Sherman and Bateman portraits were reproduced in *Camera Craft*, July, 1902.

Notes

1. Terry Mangan, *Colorado on Glass: Colorado's First Half-Century As Seen By the Camera*, 385 (Denver: Sundance, 1975).
2. Richard Rudisill, *Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society*, 120 (Albuquerque: New Mexico Press, 1971). A discussion of the cultural-social impact of the daguerreotype on nineteenth-century America is contained in this text.
3. Beaumont Newhall, *The Daguerreotype in America*, 85 (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1961).
4. The mail steamer *Tennessee* made many voyages to San Francisco via Panama. On March 6, 1853, the *Tennessee* went ashore at Tagus Beach, Bolinas Bay, in a dense fog. Six hundred passengers escaped unhurt, but the ship was abandoned. Frank Soule, *The Annals of San Francisco*, 434 (New York: Appleton & Co., 1854).
5. "Ships Arrived," *Alta California*, March 5, 1851, p. 2.

6. W. H. Hutchinson, *California: Two Centuries of Man, Land and Growth in the Golden State*, 109, 120 (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).
7. "Daguerreotypes Taken by Lady," *Alta California*, January 29, 1850, p. 2.
8. *San Francisco City Directory*, September, 1850, p. 134.
9. *San Francisco City Directory*, September, 1852, p. 53.
10. *San Francisco City Directory*, September, 1850, p. 17.
11. *Ibid*, p. 30.
12. Newhall, *Daguerreotype in America*, 86.
13. "Daguerreotypes of San Francisco," *Alta California*, January 19, 1851, p. 2.
14. *San Francisco City Directory*, September, 1852, p. 110.
15. Alan Bowman, *Index to the 1850 Census of the State of California*, 114 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1972).
16. William Shew was nearly eighty-three years old at his death on February 5, 1903. Certificate of Death, Department of Public Health, San Francisco.
17. O. V. Lange, "A Portrait Photographer For More Than Half a Century in San Francisco," *Camera Craft*, 5 (July, 1902):101. No Shews are recorded in the 1810 or 1820 census in Jefferson or any nearby counties; nor is there any reference to a Shew family in any of the county histories researched.

    The family name Shew appears in New York in the first census of the United States in 1790 and again in 1800. In 1790 an Agustine Shew is listed in Albany County as the head of a household. There is also listed an Andrew Shew in New York City. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790*, 27, 130 (U.S. Census Office, Washington Government Printing Office, 1903).
18. Lange, "A Portrait Photographer," 101–102.
19. Rudisill, *Mirror Image*, 145.
20. William Shew's first studio in Boston was at 60½ Cornhill Street in 1844. He later moved to 16 Haskins' Building. William is listed as a "miniature case maker" through the 1847–48 *Boston Directory*. From 1848 through 1851 he is listed, along with Myron Shew, as a "daguerreotypist" at 123 Washington Street. Jack Jackson, of the Library of The Boston Athenaeum, to author, October 14, 1975.
21. Newhall, *Daguerreotype in America*, 128.
22. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1852, p. 54.
23. "Marriages," *Alta California*, November 11, 1858, p. 2.
24. From 1862 through 1867, Laura Shew resided with Jacob Shew at 732 Bush Street; from 1867 to 1873, at 314 Bush Street; and from 1874–1885, at 620 Fourteenth Street, Oakland. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1862–1865.
25. Myron was employed with William in 1865, 1868–72, and 1887. He was listed with the U. S. Custom House in 1874. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1865, 1868–72, 1874, 1887.
26. Louis Rasmussen, *San Francisco Ship Passengers List*, 4:83 (Colma, Ca: San Francisco Historic Records, 1970).

    William Shew is listed as a passenger on the ship *California* arriving via Panama on July 28, 1852. The error in this listing could well be that the passenger was a Mrs. William Shew.
27. On July 29, 1879, Theodora (or Dora, as she was called) married Calvert Meade, an insurance adjuster at the Union Insurance Company in San Francisco. Marriage license for Calvert Meade and Theodora Shew, Book F, p. 317 (microfilm), Alameda County Courthouse.

    William Shew's only grandchild, Edith Dora Meade, died at age six on October 11, 1889, of typhoid. Shew's wife also died the same day. Mountain View Cemetery, Oakland. Company records for Plot 25, n. 204 bought by Calvert Meade in 1890. Also, Register of Deaths, October, 1889, Department of Public Health, San Francisco.

    Death records show that Elisabeth was residing with her son-in-law and had been a resident of Alameda County for eleven years, since her daughter's marriage.
28. Dora Shew Meade died on March 18, 1904, at the age of fifty-six. Calvert, her husband, died on June 1, 1919, leaving a second wife, Grace Sawyer Meade. The Shew name ends with the death of Annie Shew in 1930; related family and descendents end with the death of son-in-law Calvert's second wife, Grace Meade, in 1943. Certificate of Death, Annie Shew, 1930, No. 529, Department of Public Health, San Francisco. Also, Probate Records, Calvert Meade's will, 1919, n. 26137, Alameda County Courthouse.
29. Lange. "Portrait Photographer," 103.
30. "Daguerreotype Drawings," *Alta California*, October 6, 1851, p. 2.
31. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1852, p. 132.
32. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1863, p. 327.
33. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1874, p. 811.
34. *San Francisco City Directory*, January, 1856, p. 92.
35. *San Francisco City Directory*, October, 1856, p. 57.
36. The most complete account of Shew's patronage appears in "The First Photographer in San Francisco and Some of His Early-Day Patrons," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1903, Sunday Supplement, p. 4. Shew photographs of the following people illustrate the *Chronicle* article: Edward Baker, Thomas Starr King, David C. Broderick, Captain John A. Sutter, Jacob Primer Leese, Ralph Emerson, and a drawing of Shew's movable gallery.

    Other patrons mentioned in the article include: John Nugent (editor of the *Herald*), George Hyde, General Scott, merchant N. G. Kittle, Alexander Bladwin, the Palaches, the Vanderwaters, John Parrott, Dr. and Mrs. McNulty, Forbes, Castle, Shafter, Dewey, Maynard, McAllister, Judge Currey, Dwinell, Walkenshaw, Sawyer, Hoffman, Thorton, Fred Macondray, Casserly, and Judge Haight.
37. For further discussion of Emerson, Transcendentalism, and the daguerreotype, see Rudisill, *Mirror Image*.

38. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals 1841–1844*, pp. 100–101 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911).
39. "First Photographer in San Francisco," 40.
40. Rudisill, *Mirror Image*, 146.
41. "Photographic Artists Association," *Alta California*, August 5, 1866, p. 1.
42. "Photographic Artists Association," *Alta California*, August 7, 1866, p. 1. The Association's officers were Silas Selleck, president; Alexander Edouart, vice president; William Rulofson, treasurer; trustees: W. Shew, Hamilton, J. Shew, Woods, Oleson, Wright, Chalmers, Dickenson, G. H. Johnson, Tidball, Ayer, Rowell.
43. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1867, p. 681.
44. "Photographic Artists Association," 1.
45. *Ibid.*
46. "Photographic Art Society," *Alta California*, March 4, 1876, p. 1.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.* The original officers of the Association, as listed in the *City Directory*, 1875, p. 995, were: Thomas Houseworth, president; George Reeman, secretary; William Shew, treasurer.
49. *Ibid.*
50. California State Census, 1852.
51. *Sacramento City Directory*, 1857–58, p. 86; 1858–59, p. 65; 1859–60, p. 104.
52. "State Fair: Fine Arts," *Sacramento Democrat*, September, 1860; article in a family scrapbook at the California Historical Society, San Francisco.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1861, p. 306.
55. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1862, p. 352.
56. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1863, p. 327.
57. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1864, p. 360.
58. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1872, p. 591.
59. "Photographic Artists Association," *Alta California*, August 7, 1866, p. 1.
60. "Photographic Art Society," *Alta California*, March 4, 1876, p. 1.
61. "Jacob Shew," *Alta California*, February 4, 1879, p. 2.
62. "Suicide of Jacob Shew," *Morning Call*, February 4, 1879, p. 4.
63. "Jacob Shew," 1–2.
64. "Funeral Notice," *Alta California*, February 8, 1879, p. 2.
65. Jacob Shew's name appears on the stationery of the Republican State Central Committee for the presidential campaign of 1860. California Historical Society.
66. *Bay of San Francisco: The Metropolis of the Pacific Coast and its Suburban Cities*, 2:13 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1892).
67. William Shew, "Photography," *California Monthly Magazine*, 2 (July, 1854):34.
68. *Ibid.*, 35.
69. Newhall, *Daguerreotype in America*, 11.
70. Shew, "Photography," 37.
71. Therese Heyman, *Mirror of California*, 23 (Oakland: The Oakland Museum, 1973).
72. Shew, "Photography," 40.
73. "City Items," *Alta California*, January 25, 1856, p. 2.
74. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1862, p. 352.
75. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1863, p. 327.
76. Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839–1889*, p. 139, 323. (New York: Dover Publications, 1964).
77. The major public holders of Shew photographs are the Bancroft Library and the California Historical Society. No other public collections with a substantial body of either William or Jacob Shew's work has been located.
78. Newhall, *Daguerreotype in America*, 85.
79. Ralph Andrews, *Picture Gallery Pioneers*, 47 (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1964).
80. *Ibid.*, 63.
81. *Ibid.*, 69.
82. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1900, p. 703.
83. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1904, p. 1687.
84. Probate Records, Annie Shew's will, 1930, San Francisco Hall of Records. In her handwritten, one-paragraph will Annie leaves everything to a Michael Samuels, residing in Oakland. Four people are listed in the probate records as claiming some relationship to Annie Shew: Mary Hebard LePage, Littlerock, California; Mrs. Churchwell, Littlerock, California; C. F. Hebard, Madison, New Jersey; and Mrs. E. S. Leorrard, Oakland. None of these relations was readily traceable.

Zelda Bronstein and Kenneth Kann

Basha Singerman

Basha Singerman is an eighty-three-year-old Russian immigrant who arrived in Petaluma, California, in 1915 and, with her husband Shimon, took up chicken farming. "Basha Singerman" is not her real name, but she is a real "Comrade of Petaluma," one of many Petaluman Jews who have recalled their life stories and experiences to oral historians Zelda Bronstein and Kenneth Kann.

"The Comrades of Petaluma" is an ongoing oral history of a Jewish socialist chicken farming community. One hundred and fifty taped interviews, collected between 1973 and 1977, record the changing experiences of one California immigrant community through three generations and three-quarters of a century. While the history of the Petaluma Jewish community reveals experiences central to all immigrants in America—the creation of a community, the dilemma of interaction with a broader society, and the problems of community continuity and ethnic identity in the second and third generations—the story of the Petaluma Jews is exceptional because of their active and diverse cultural organizations, their unique agricultural base, and their extraordinary community cohesion.

Petaluma, a town of 30,000 people located forty miles north of San Francisco, was once a thriving western poultry center. Jewish chicken farmers co-existed with other immigrant chicken-farming communities—German, Swedish, Italian, and Japanese. Early in the century, chicken ranching had required little initial capital outlay, and Petaluma's Eastern European Jewish pioneers were attracted to family farming as an escape from brutal urban workplaces or through an ideological commitment to Jewish agricultural life. The community's spoken history has it that Sam Messner established Petaluma's first Jewish chicken ranch in 1903, and by 1925 a community of more than 100 Jewish chicken-ranching families thrived in the rural Northern California locale.

Community social life centered around the Jewish Community Center, which was built in 1925. There, the tiny *shul* (synagogue) for the religious, a wide variety of political and literary and fraternal organizations, a library, holiday and social gatherings, and educational programs brought the community together and displayed the diversity and richness of the local Jewish culture. Political commitments ran deep, and the Petaluma Jews were alternately united and divided by a volatile political life. Tensions generated in the 1930's by the outcome of the Russian Revolution and in the 1950's by the Cold War strained community solidarity, and when the corporation displayed the family farm as the basic unit of the poultry business in the 1950's, the Petaluma Jews underwent a major economic reorientation. Since that time, their town has become increasingly suburban in character. The newcomers who have swelled the Jewish community to 200 families have added yet another dimension to local Jewish culture. Interest grows in building a temple and securing a full-time rabbi.

The following interview with "Basha Singerman," a shortened version of the full transcript to appear in a forthcoming book, records the spirit of cooperation and cultural cohesion, the shared hardships and joys that characterized the Petaluma Jewish socialist chicken-farming community in its first decades. □

Ms. Bronstein is a granddaughter of two of Petaluma's earliest Jewish chicken ranchers. She is a graduate student in American Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

Mr. Kann has completed a doctoral dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley, on immigration and the working classes in the United States. He now lives in Petaluma.

The names of individuals mentioned in the interview have been changed to protect the privacy of living Petalumans.

Comrade of Petaluma



WHEN WE CAME to Petaluma I couldn't speak any English at all. Hardly any. . . . When I was in Africa I learned a few words. I didn't go to school there because in Nairobi they had no school. So when we came here I wanted to learn the English language and I started to go to school. I took up English and my teacher said to me, "Being that you were in East Africa, I would like you to write an essay on your trip to East Africa."

And I did. This is the essay. [Begins to read the essay:]

On a picturesque night I passed the Suez Canal. Its beauty was beyond description. . . .

You want to know how I got to East Africa? That is a story! I was born in Minsk, the capital of White Russia, in 1894. Minsk was one of the ghetto cities for the Jewish people. There were cities where Jews were not allowed to live . . . like in Moscow, in Kiev, in Petroberg [Leningrad]. Before I left, the population of Minsk was about 100,000—about 75,000 Jews and 25,000 non-Jews.

I was the only one in the family who craved for education. I was born with it. I went to a full-time Jewish school when I was six years old. School in Old Russia was not like in the Soviet Union, with compulsory education for all. At that time in Tsarist Russia they admitted a

Combining new chicken-raising and kale-gardening skills, Basha and Shimon worked on this chicken ranch until 1922.



Before leaving Minsk in 1913, Basha (in light skirt) posed with her sister for a charming, if somehow sad, portrait.

4 per cent quota of Jewish children to a high school. I was one of the 4 per cent who went to high school, because I had a teacher in our house. There were teachers who taught Jewish children without money. They were students. They were idealists. They wanted Jewish people to get some education, so they gave free lessons to Jewish children.

I put in an application for a government junior high school when I was eight years old. I passed the examinations 100 per cent, and I was admitted. I took up Russian language and Russian literature and mathematics and history. They had two monks who taught religion class to the non-Jewish children; then we would go out for an hour.

I was there for four years and I was one of the best. There [pointing to the wall] is a picture of the graduation group. I was so ambitious! I wanted to go to *gymnasium*—*gymnasium* means high school—after junior high school. They didn't admit Jewish children, but you could study at home and then go through an *exthernichatch*—an examination—to pass higher grades. A student taught me for higher education a little, I studied at home, and I graduated from high school. Then I entered a bookkeeping college.

The bookkeeping college was a two-year college. I graduated in 1907—I still have my diploma. Then I went to work in a general store, one of the biggest in Minsk. Small shopkeepers from all over Minsk and all the little towns came to buy things. There were over a hundred salesmen and twenty bookkeepers—among the twenty I was one girl. The owner was a Jewish millionaire. And he was a despot . . . boy was he a despot! When the Revolution broke out, everything was taken from him. He ran away to Poland and then in 1939 the Nazis killed him off.

At the time I was working, if I had five rubles a week I was a rich girl. We went through hunger, plenty of it. I was in a bookkeepers' union and we used to have meetings. We were grownups: sixteen, seventeen-year-old boys and girls were grownups at that time.

I belonged to other organizations, people's organizations. We were progressives. We were all revolutionaries. You see, Lenin's party was called *Iskra* at that time. *Iskra* is "spark." And I belonged to *Iskra*. It's gone already.

Just before I left Minsk, some of my friends gave me a farewell party. The police came in—you were not allowed to gather, especially students. This was in 1913. They came in and searched us. They took away everything and they arrested two of the young men. Then they went to search each and everyone's house. They didn't find anything at my house. My father was sick then and I thought it was better not to keep anything there. The police were terrible. They were terrible. They were afraid of the young people—especially the people who were more or less educated—that they would become revolutionaries and want to overthrow the Tsar.

This was a terrible time for me, a terrible time. I was leaving Minsk to go to Africa. The brother of my future

husband was the head salesman in the store where I worked. I was very good friends with his family, but his brother I didn't know. I heard about him. He was in Africa and he wanted his family to come and settle. He had land and he had built a house.

This future brother-in-law of mine, he went to Africa —Kenya! When he came, there were twenty Jewish families and no Jewish girls. So when he arrived in Nairobi he said to his brother, "I have a wonderful girl for you." He was the one who made the *shidoch* [match] between my husband and me. He wrote me a letter and he proposed it to me that I should come to Africa and if I didn't like it I'll be able to go back.

I showed the letter from Africa to my father and I asked him. He read the letter and he said, "Go, my daughter, because I cannot do a thing for you anymore." He felt that he was dying and two weeks later he died. He was forty-nine years old.

I had a young man in Minsk. We were in love, but he did something to me which I didn't like and we quarreled. We parted, and I decided to go, just in spite of the one that I loved.

When I left Minsk, my sweetheart came to the railroad station to say goodby to me. He gave me a package, a present. When I took apart my luggage in Africa, I found this package with two books. One was *Writers and Poets*, a book of Russian writers and poets. And in this book I found these two little cards. I still have them. He said to me: "Basha (you know, in Russian they called me Basha) —*Prosti za vseo*—forgive me for everything. *Derniz*—come back. *Yesli Sthchalevo boodesh islikotich*—write, if you have a desire. Boris."

I did not write to him. I was married already. I made up my mind. My husband was a wonderful man. When I came to Africa my future husband came to the boat at Mombasa to meet me. He looked so young! He was twenty years older than I. I wasn't quite nineteen and he was close to thirty-nine. He looked like a young man of twenty-four. He was highly educated and cultured. He knew many languages and besides he was a talmudist. At the same time he was an ordinary man . . . he didn't blow about his knowledge. So . . . at last I fell in love with him.

My husband came to East Africa in 1906, about eight years before I came. In 1904 or 1905 England offered East Africa—the Kenya Colony—to the Jewish people as a homeland. The Zionist leaders refused to accept this because they wanted Palestine. But for a couple of years there was a great big sign as soon as you entered Nairobi: "Jewish Reserve." If the Zionist leaders had accepted this as a Jewish homeland, the Jewish people would have been a thousand times worse off than they are in Israel with the Arabs. In Israel they had a claim and in Africa they had no claim. The natives of Kenya would have killed every last Jew.

My husband was in one of the first groups who came to Kenya after the British offered it to the Jewish people. He was with a group of students. He wanted the Jewish people to settle on the land and become productive citizens and productive farmers. By profession my husband was a building engineer, but he was born with a desire to work on the land. The ground was his heart and soul.

The British government took the best land away from the natives and drove them deeper and deeper into the woods. Very rich people from England and Germany got thousands and thousands of acres of land. It's an immense country, Kenya. The British government gave my husband's group of young men thousands of acres of land. Free! You had to show when you came in that you had 200 English pounds. A pound was $5.00 . . . who had 200 pounds? But one young man in the group did. He stood first at the window and showed the 200 pounds. Then he handed it to the next one, and each to another. That's how they were granted land.

As soon as a white man came the natives looked at you and named you in their language. I learned a little of the Kikuyu language. My father-in-law, he was a very religious man. He used to *dovin* [pray] every morning. They called him *Vongoy*. *Vongoy* has to do with God.

Sleepy Petaluma, soon to become "The Egg Basket of the World" and the home of a colony of progressive Jewish immigrants.

My husband they named *Margoo*. *Margoo* is a judge. They had quarrels between their families, with all their wives, so with all their troubles they would come to him. He spoke the Kikuyu language fluently. They would tell him all about their troubles and he would solve their problems in a nice and human way. There were rickshaws in Nairobi but not once did he ride in a rickshaw. He considered it below human dignity that a human being should carry him. My husband was heart and soul for the natives. He not only sympathized with them, but he felt it was unjust on the part of England to colonize.

My husband had a cattle ranch there. He had a dairy, with over 200 milking cows. The natives worked for him, but he paid them and they just loved him. The Negroes would get up at three o'clock in the morning to milk the cows. My husband would go with them. He was always milking.

When I came to Africa I was tall and I was thin. I was a pretty good-looking girl. I was nineteen years old. So they named me *Matasia*. *Matasia* is a young, straight tree, a beautiful tree that grows tall and straight.

After I was there for a few months we got married. A white woman there was superior . . . a godsend. There the white women don't do a thing. If you go out to buy a loaf of bread, then you have to have a little boy with you . . . a Negro boy. He is to carry your bundle or else you'll be looked upon like a wild one. The white women have nothing to do there. In the beginning I thought, I'll go insane, but then I adapted myself.

I was happy with my new husband there, but I was lonely, I was so lonely! Kenya was a new country; it was a wilderness actually. We lived seven miles from town on a farm, just my husband and I. I was lonely for my friends and family. Over 200 people came to the railroad station when I left Minsk. Minsk was a big city . . . at home I had a cultural life.

There were twenty Jewish families when I came but none of them—none of them—were progressives. There were a few homes built and a little town already. They were friendly, but they were playing cards all the time, and we don't. My husband never played cards and neither do I. They play cards here too . . . even the progressive friends play cards here. But I don't know how to and I'm not interested in it. I would rather sit down and read something good and know what is going on.

I was in Africa for eleven months. Terrible diseases broke out among the cattle and my husband was losing twenty and thirty a day. He knew I was very unhappy there. One day my husband says to me, "I am going to sell all the cows that we have and let's go." He wanted to go to Canada, to Montreal. He was getting a Jewish newspaper from New York, and in this newspaper they described the life of the Jewish farmer not far from Montreal. It was ideal. They had their own cultural events and they were not far from the city. They were cultured people.

We sailed to Paris, where my husband had an uncle, and then we went to Montreal. My husband told the people at the British Embassy that he is looking for a cattle ranch and they gave him the name of a real estate man. When he took my husband out to show him the Jewish farms, it was actually boardinghouses. The poor Jewish people of Montreal—every summer they would go away to a boardinghouse to be in the country for a couple of months. Instead of Jewish farms near Montreal, there were boardinghouses for Jewish people!

He was ready to go back to Africa, but he met a *landsman* [countryman] who told him to go to California, to San Francisco. I didn't know about that. I was very unhappy because I was lonesome for my friends and family I left in Minsk. I was lonely. But whatever he said, it was so.

We decided to go to California. Being that my older sister lived in St. Louis, I said that we must go see her. So we went by train to St. Louis. My sister had a little grocery store and in the back of the store she had two little rooms. My husband put a white apron on and he became the chief salesman in the store. Everyone liked him, but



he wanted to become a farmer, a cattle rancher. We left for California, for San Francisco.

His *landsman* gave him an address of a Jewish family in San Francisco. So when we came we went straight to these people. From San Francisco, real estate agents began to take him out—to Ukiah, to Eureka, up north. Once the agent brought us up to Willits, about a hundred miles north from Petaluma. At that time Willits was such a dirty town. It wasn't paved. It was raining and it was just miserable. It was the most horrible town I ever saw.

The cattle ranch was seven or eight miles away from town. The agent took us out to show us the ranch. What do I know about a cattle ranch? But it was seven miles away from town . . . if you were looking for a house you couldn't see it for miles.

I didn't say a word, but the deal didn't materialize. Not because of me. They could not agree on the price of two horses the farmer wanted to sell with the ranch. Finally my husband said, "In that case, let's leave."

When we returned from Willits toward San Francisco the train stopped in Petaluma for an hour or so. The agent had showed my husband the chicken houses in Petaluma and he wanted me to see. We went out of the train and it was so beautiful! It was in November. It was such a sunny day and everything was so white. A great big hen was sitting in a great big basket of eggs on a sign, and it said "The Egg Basket of the World."

In comparison with Willits, oh my God, it was paradise. So I said to my husband, "Shimon, right here we are going to remain!"

This was in 1915. We remained. We rented an apartment and we went to look for chicken ranches. My husband wanted to have a cattle ranch. He didn't like the chickens. He said, "Oh, you have to bend to every chicken and keep on bending." But I wanted to stay in Petaluma and to buy a chicken ranch right here. I was determined. Before I didn't say anything, but here I was determined. I liked the chicken ranch much better because we were close to a community.

There were three Jewish families in Petaluma when we came. One of them—Horowitz—he was a crook. He was terrible. He wanted to make a few dollars commission from us. He was helping us to find a ranch, and he said he didn't care which one we would buy. Horowitz began to talk to my husband that he should buy a five-acre ranch that a neighbor of his wanted to sell. My husband didn't like this place. He saw other ranches that he liked. That crook Horowitz made nothing of the other ranches. He said, "I want you as a neighbor."

So we bought that ranch. When we came to the lawyer's to make out the papers, Horowitz was there too. My husband said, "What are you doing here?"

He didn't answer. Then it came out that the seller offered him 2½ per cent commission for the sale. Well, my husband didn't say anything. When everything was through he came over to my husband and wanted to shake hands. So my husband says, "A thief and a crook! I will not give you my hand and I do not want to look at you anymore!"

Horowitz made 2½ per cent commission and that's why he wanted us to buy that rotten place. It was only a fence between our ranch and his ranch, but we had nothing to do with him while we were there. We just hated that ranch. We stayed on it for a couple of years and then we sold it.

Within a period of six years, a Jewish population settled in Petaluma of about 100 families. My husband brought Jewish families here. He wanted to take Jewish people who worked in the sweatshops of big cities and bring them here. Shimon possessed vision and ideals. He saw in Petaluma a place where Jews could settle on the land and begin to lead a healthy, dignified life. He realized that here is where Jewish people could do productive work and make a nice respectable living.

My husband had a *landsman* of his in San Francisco, his name was Abe Mizner. They both came from a city in White Russia—Borosov was the name of the city—it was in the Minsk area. So they knew each other from home. My husband told Abe Mizner that he wants to bring Jewish people here that they should settle. Abe Mizner gave him names and addresses of *landsmen* in the East. My husband wrote direct to these people that they should come to Petaluma and he would help them go into business. And they came, a few families came.

They didn't come all at one time. They came gradually. When one or two people came and they had only a few dollars, my Shimon and I welcomed them all. Even people we didn't know came. They went to the bank and they asked for help. So the bank manager would send them to us and they would stay with us for weeks. We didn't even know them. We would take them out to look for a ranch. If they would buy a place, my husband would go with them to the bank and to a feed store. He had very good credit in Petaluma. He would sign a note for them for about $1000 or $2000.

One group of young men came to Petaluma from Berkeley before the war. They were from Palestine originally. They came to Petaluma to work on the chicken ranches. So, to work on a chicken ranch who did they come to? They came to the Singermans, naturally! And we became very dear friends with one of them. His name was Meneuchen—Louis Meneuchen.

At the time of the First World War, in 1917, he wanted to go fight against Germany. He said, any human being that has any dignity and consideration for mankind should go and fight against Germany. Because if Germany should win then it will be an end to the world. So he wanted to be a soldier in the American army, but he

Working with live chickens was new and hard. Still, it was better than life in the big city sweatshops.



was flat-footed and he wasn't accepted. So what did he do? He went to Palestine and he joined the Jabotinsky Batallion [a Jewish Zionist brigade which fought in Palestine under the British during World War I].

He was a man, I am telling you! Well, he met a young girl and they got married and they came to Petaluma after the war. So, who should they come to? To the Singermans, naturally! They lived with us for awhile and then they bought a ranch. My husband helped them out.

Louis Meneuchen is Yehudi Menuhin's uncle. We were friends with Yehudi's parents. They used to come up. Yehudi was four years old—with his little violin.

In the early days the whole Jewish community became like a family, like one big family. We used to go every Sunday, all of us, to the Russian River. We got up earlier in the morning to feed the chickens, and if we fed them an hour later in the afternoon it didn't matter. Whoever had a car or a truck filled it up with people. We would bring our lunches and spread long tables there. They had room at Rio Nido and Monte Rio. We would go swimming—that's where I learned how to swim.

We used to come to one another's in the evenings. Every Friday we would have a cultural gathering, mostly at our house, but occasionally at someone else's house. We would discuss current events and books. I used to bake cakes and cookies—did I have spreads! They used to call our house "Singerman's Hotel."

My husband, being that he was a building engineer, built a gorgeous house for us in 1922. He made the specifications and planned everything. Other people built it, but we helped. We had a gorgeous 20 x 20′ dining room. The living room was 16 x 18′—it was open on both sides. We had two bedrooms, a big kitchen, and a pantry. It was an immense house. At that time it was the most beautiful house in Petaluma. It was open to everybody from the day it was built.

We lived just like one family then. Regardless of ideological differences—and there were plenty of ideo-



logical differences—each and every one had his own ideology. In 1925 we built a Community Center. There was no money for building a Center, so Mrs. Ziff and Mrs. Rubin and a few others got a loan. Mrs. Haas in San Francisco gave the money for the first mortgage. Every one of us wanted to have a Jewish Center.

Working with live chickens was new and hard. Still it was better than life in the big city sweatshops. These people became chicken farmers and paid off their debts. Then they brought friends of theirs who came without money. Their credit was good already and they helped the new people who came here without money.

When we came to Petaluma most of the chicken ranchers had layers. The chickens were called white leghorns. When we bought our chicken ranch there were about 1500 layers on the ranch. There was a man who used to raise pullets and at the age of three months he would sell them to us. They started to lay at about six months. Then we would keep these layers until two-and-a-half or three years. Every year we would sell the older birds and take in new pullets, because the old hens stopped laying. This was from 1915 to 1949.

We first learned from the neighbors. They used to come over and show us what to do. When we first came to Petaluma a neighbor of ours went to the newspaper, the *Argus*, and she wrote a long article called "The Invasion of the Jews in Petaluma." And I'm telling you, this article, it was terrible. But many of our neighbors, non-Jews, came after she wrote this anti-Semitic article. They showed us how to feed the chickens and how to plow and how to plant.

We worked very hard. At that time we had to plant kale, thousands and thousands of plants, because in the feed from the feed store there was no green stuff. Every three months we planted another patch of three thousand green seeds. This was kale.

At six o'clock in the morning my husband would get up, hitch the horse to the wagon, and pick a full wagon of kale. He would cut it on the electric kale-cutter, and then he would mix it with grain in an electric mixer. He would make a full mixer with mash and we would fill up five-gallon cans. About seven o'clock in the morning we would feed the chickens with it.

My husband built troughs so that a whole row opened

Neighbors assisted Basha in learning how to keep white leghorns laying eggs, a simp to sundown task. Photo c.1924.

up with one pull. He would have the mash on his sled-wagon and he would give a can for each yardful. We kept 500 chickens in a house. They were called colony houses then.

At twelve o'clock we would go collect the first crop of eggs in each house. We had to clean the eggs. We had an egg room. My husband would clean the eggs with a little motor, an electric motor, and I cleaned with an emery cloth brush.

After we cleaned and packed the eggs, we would go into the house. We would have lunch and then we would rest. Until four o'clock we would rest. Then my husband would go out, cut the kale, and we would feed the chickens again with the kale and grain. And then we would go back the second time to collect the eggs.

It was very hard work, very hard work. It was hard work with the livestock, with the chickens. But we didn't mind it. My husband and I, both of us, we just loved it! We loved the work! My husband would plow up a big piece of land and with my bare hands I would dig and plant. We would make a big beautiful vegetable garden. And then we told all our friends, "Please come and help yourself."

When the layers got older we sold them to a chicken dealer. You had to be careful with chicken dealers. There was a man by the name of Zipkin, Eli Zipkin. He is not here anymore—he went to Los Angeles and he died. Oh, he was terrible! He was the greatest thief. When they would get the chickens, they used to come with a great big truck with coops on the truck. They would come in the evening when the chickens were on the roost. My husband would pick up the chickens from the roost and hand them to me. I would count every chicken. I would give it to him, to Eli Zipkin. He would count it and put it in the coop. So, instead of six chickens he would say five. And I would say, "Oh no! You put six chickens in. It was six!" And he would take out the whole bunch and count it again. And it was six. You see, you had to watch them.

Yitzhak Meyer had a brother who lived in Petaluma for many years. They used to deal with chickens—and we used to sell the old chickens to them. I don't think the Meyers were that bad. Maybe with others they were, but not with us. And besides, Meyer's brother was a more or less cultured man, an educated man. He would come, to my husband, and they would talk about the Bible and the *talmud* and about many things.

We would all come together in the homes, expecially our home, once a week at least in the 1930's. Naturally, it was progressive people. We would talk about books and current events and things. Everybody was well-read here—Hochman, Sol Levin, many of our friends. We would spend wonderful times.

What does it mean to be a progressive? Well, progressive means that we should have a good life for all mankind, a good life for everybody regardless of politics. There should be no discrimination. There should be no hatred among people. That's our main point—a better life for all the people.

We were all progressives. It was no use inviting the others—it would be a quarrel. The Community Center was for the whole community. We all made financial contributions to the Community Center. The progressive family and the non-progressive family—I don't want to call them reactionary! [chuckling]—the conservatives—we were all there together. Our progressive groups were meeting at the Center because we were a part of the Jewish community and had a right to meet there. We felt that the Community Center is our own.

Ben and Sara Hochman lived near us too. Do you know their sons, Sam and Nathan? Both of them were in the Spanish Civil War. In 1935 or 1936 the fascists here in Petaluma beat up Hochman because he is a progressive man. It was during a strike of apple-pickers . . . Hochman was very active. They came to his house and

dragged him out. They beat him up and they took out the flag. They took out the flag and they said, "Bow to the flag on your knees."

So he said, "If this flag represents what you are doing to me now, then I have no use for it and I will not bow to it."

That's right! He told the fascists. And they were fascists! They beat him up. They nearly killed him. Oh, we were all heartbroken. It was something awful. It was something terrible—what they went through! They had to move out. They had to leave Petaluma. They went to New York, but they came back.

There were Nazis in Petaluma—there still are! I know of one especially. He was one of the big *machers* [bigshots] in town. Anderson was his name. He was a terrible man, a terrible person. They used to have demonstrations here in town in '36 and '37, and he would lead on horseback.

I meet his wife quite often in town now. Bridget is her name—a German name. Her parents were our neighbors—her mother was a Nazi. She was a little girl when we came and she married Anderson. She also became a Nazi.

They lived . . . not far from our place. Anderson had a cow and he didn't have much land. I had 3½ acres of land. I didn't raise any greens then so I had plenty of pasture. So he used to bring his cow to my pasture. So he would come by and he would begin to talk to me.

I was afraid of him! He talked right in my face. He talked so quickly. He talked about Nazis. In my house he talked about Nazis! He wanted to show me that he is a great friend of mine. I never see him anymore. I don't know whether he is alive. He was mentally ill. That's right!

In the 1920's we did well, but in the Depression they were going to take everything away from everybody. Chicken ranch after chicken ranch—they kept on foreclosing and taking every cent away from everybody.

We almost lost everything we had. Before Roosevelt became president they were going to take away our chicken ranch. We had 12½ acres and we sold 4½ acres, being that in the time of the Depression we lost every cent that we had. We couldn't pay the mortgage on the place and they were going to foreclose. However, another bank advanced us some money and we paid. We sold more of our land and finally we were left with 3½ acres. We held on until 1937 and then another bank advanced us money. They didn't foreclose us, but we had to work very hard. That's why my husband died—from a heart attack from aggravation. He died in 1942, but he became sick right away during the Depression.

In 1942 we decided to sell the layers and take in chicks. Why did we start raising chicks? One of the Adler sons decided to take in 1500 chicks—in high school they gave you credit for certain things—and he made $1500. Profit! Since then, everybody began to take in chicks. For chicks you needed brooder houses, so my husband, with a neighbor, they rebuilt some of the chicken houses to brooder houses. We were supposed to take in chicks on the fifth of September, 1942. My husband died on the first of September, 1942.

When my husband died, in his will he wanted to be cremated. At that time it was $200. I had to pay $200 to the funeral chapel and I didn't have the money. Sol Levin was the only one who knew my financial position when my husband died. He went to the funeral chapel and he said to the owner to wait three months. The chicks you sold at three months. They had to have a certain weight and it didn't pay to sell them when they were very young. The funeral chapel waited three months until after I sold my chicks and I paid them the $200.

Sol did a lot for me then and I'll never forget it. He was the only one that spoke at my husband's funeral in the name of my husband. I remember a few words of his that he said: "The tradition of Shimon Singerman I hope will continue in Petaluma—to help each other like Shimon Singerman." Sol Levin talked at his funeral.

It's not like it was before. It's the atmosphere. It's the whole life here—not only in Petaluma—all over the United States. They want everyone to be conservative.

He is a wonderful person, an outstanding personality.

It wasn't easy after my husband died. I had a big mortgage—$7,500. We owed $3000 for rebuilding the chicken houses. And it happened that a few months before, I fell and broke my kneecap. I owed the doctor $1,000. So I owed about $10,000 or $11,000, and I was penniless. When my husband died they were going to take our place away. I had to sell more of my land and I had to raise chicks to pay off my debts. And I did.

A man by the name of Bill Freedman worked for us when he was seventeen years old. Bill was to my husband like a son. When my husband died, Bill finished rebuilding my chicken houses into brooder houses. He used to work for me two days a week. He would come and fill up all the hoppers with mash and he would clean the chicken houses. He did a lot of things. Without Bill, I wouldn't have survived.

So I paid the first mortgage, I paid the $1,000 for the accident, and I paid the $3,000 for rebuilding the chicken houses. I came out all right. I was at that time young [50 years old] and strong like a horse. I loved work. I like to work.

I kept the ranch until 1966. It was in my heart—not only the house, the whole place. We built everything ourselves. I never thought that I would sell my place.

We always belonged to the Poultry Producers [a large cooperative which also served as a savings bank]. My husband was one of those who helped to organize it in 1916. He had so much confidence in the Poultry Producers and so did I. We used to buy feed there and we used to deliver eggs there. Every year they would pay a dividend.

After my husband passed away my whole savings were in the Poultry Producers. I paid for the ranch and I lived very modestly. However, in 1964 the Poultry Producers declared themselves bankrupt. They took away millions of dollars from the members and they took away every cent of my $7,500. The whole management—they were corrupt—they did not go bankrupt. They were crooks and they took the money for themselves.

In the beginning they wanted to see that the members should be quiet. So they wrote every member will get back dollar for dollar. They didn't—they took everything. They sent another letter that they will pay 2 per cent, or whatever it was. In my letter they said they would pay $300 for my $7,500. On the letter they told you to take it or leave it. Some people left it—they didn't want to take it.

Some people lost tens of thousands of dollars. Cousins of my husband—Jake and Freda Singerman—they had $30,000. There was a membership of thousands and many people lost their ranches.

I was left penniless and I had to go on welfare. I couldn't pay for anything. A whole year I was on the welfare and it nearly killed me. Because I was so independent. It was begging actually. It was so humiliating!

One day I couldn't pay the taxes on my ranch. I thought I would go to my social worker. In the city hall I used to go. Oooooh, I just shiver when I think about it!!! I didn't like the welfare business—to go to a social worker. He was a very nice person, but what could he do? It wasn't up to him.

However, I came over and I said I have no money to pay my taxes this year. He said if you have no money to pay your taxes, the state will come and take your place away.

I nearly fainted when he said it. I never thought I would sell my place. I would have never sold the ranch if not for that. But then it occurred to me that I must sell my place! I don't want them to take my place away.

So I went to a stationery store and I bought a "for sale" sign. A good friend of mine, Max Blumberg, he had a

I am eighty already. Well, time flies for everybody. The only difference is that one gets born earlier and another later.

Cotati real estate agency. He went by and he saw the sign. So he comes in and he says, "Basha, do you want to sell your place?"

I said, "Fine!"

He said, "I have a customer for you." He brought these young people, with two children, and they bought my place. They bought my place, so I had to move out.

When I sold my place, Dvora Kamen, she said, "What will we do without Basha's house?" Because all the meetings and all the affairs—whatever you can think of—was in my house. It was open from the very first day it was possible for people to come in. So she says, "What will we do without Basha's house?"

So? OK! We are getting along without Basha's house. That's all. That's the end of it—the whole story about it. *Versteh* [understand]? This is our wonderful system. Half of my place I had to sell in the 1930's and then they come and take everything away from you. But who cares?

I can't do anything anymore—I feel that my strength is failing me—but I always was very active in our organizations. In 1947 a group of Jewish women—naturally, cultural women who like to read books—a group of us got together and we decided we must organize a Jewish Women's Reading Circle here in Petaluma. They had Jewish reading circles, men and women, all over the United States in nearly every city and town, but the men didn't want to join us! They said they were busy in the Cultural Club and they had no time. That's right! It was beneath their dignity to join with women in a cultural circle.

We had as many as forty women from Cotati, Petaluma, and Penngrove. We used to have two groups, because forty was too big a group for discussion, and one Executive Committee. We read and carried on discussions. First we would discuss current events, because this was of great importance. For the current events the one who was to report read whatever she wished. But for the cultural part there was a Cultural Committee and we picked out what to read. It was all Yiddish, nothing else but Yiddish. Sometimes one woman prepared a book review of an interesting book. The discussions were outstanding. Each and every one of us is cultured. We read a lot and we know what's going on.

Some people that think Jewish culture is dying out in the United States. I don't feel that it will disappear here. In each nationality the young people want to know where they stem from—their culture, their literature, their expression. The Jewish young people want to know it too. Now. You know, there are Yiddish courses in forty universities in America. Now is the time for that. You'll have to learn Yiddish. Really.

But here in Petaluma they have nothing for the progressive children. . . . It's not like it was before. It's the atmosphere. It's the sentiment. It's the whole combination of life here—not only in Petaluma—all over the United States. They want everybody to be conservative.

When we built the Center in 1925 we built a *shul* in it. You know what *shul* means? Synagogue! We built a big hall, a smaller hall, the kitchen and the synagogue. I was never in the *shul*, to tell you the truth. I don't know how it looks. I wasn't interested. It didn't occur to me to go in there.

Now, you open the Center bulletin, it is full with religion. Nothing else. Well, they tell you many things —contributions to the congregation, coming events—but most of it is religion. They have the rabbi's talk, and the rabbi's talk is a very long one. Most of this little bulletin is filled with religion. OK. This is their pleasure. Fine!

Many of the leaders of the Center are strange to me now. They are strange to me and their activities are strange to me . . . to many of our people. We continue with our work in our organizations. Now we have a very small group in the Jewish Women's Reading

Basha in the study of "Singerman's Hotel," the big house built by Shimon that was "open to everybody from the day it was built" in 1922.



Circle. We are at the most five or six women at the meetings. We meet in the private homes of members every two weeks. Now we have a couple of women who read Yiddish, but not too well, and they would rather read English. So they read an article from the *Jewish Currents* or the *People's World* or the *New York Times*.

We want to hold on. We don't want to give it up. But Eva Sarbin was a member of the Reading Circle and now she can't come—she's broken up by her husband's death. And now Haber. I think this is an end to our Jewish Reading Circle. . . .

We don't give up yet, we don't give up. We have our Jewish Cultural Club and we are doing wonderful work. We used to have a high membership, over a hundred people, but it's getting lesser and lesser. At the last meeting we had twelve or thirteen people. Before, we could never meet in a house—we rented a hall. But we still have interesting meetings.

I am over eighty already. Well, time flies for everybody. The only thing different is that one gets born earlier and another later. Literally speaking I am alone, but I manage. Several years ago they raised my rent on Western Avenue from $140 to $200. I moved to Maple Street and a lot of my close friends live in the building now. There is the Salzes and the Hochmans and the Habers and the Braunsteins. Here we are close. We go to one another. Sometimes in the night we come together in one house.

The photographs in this article are on loan to Kenneth Kann.

Malcolm Edwards

THE WAR OF Blacks in Gold

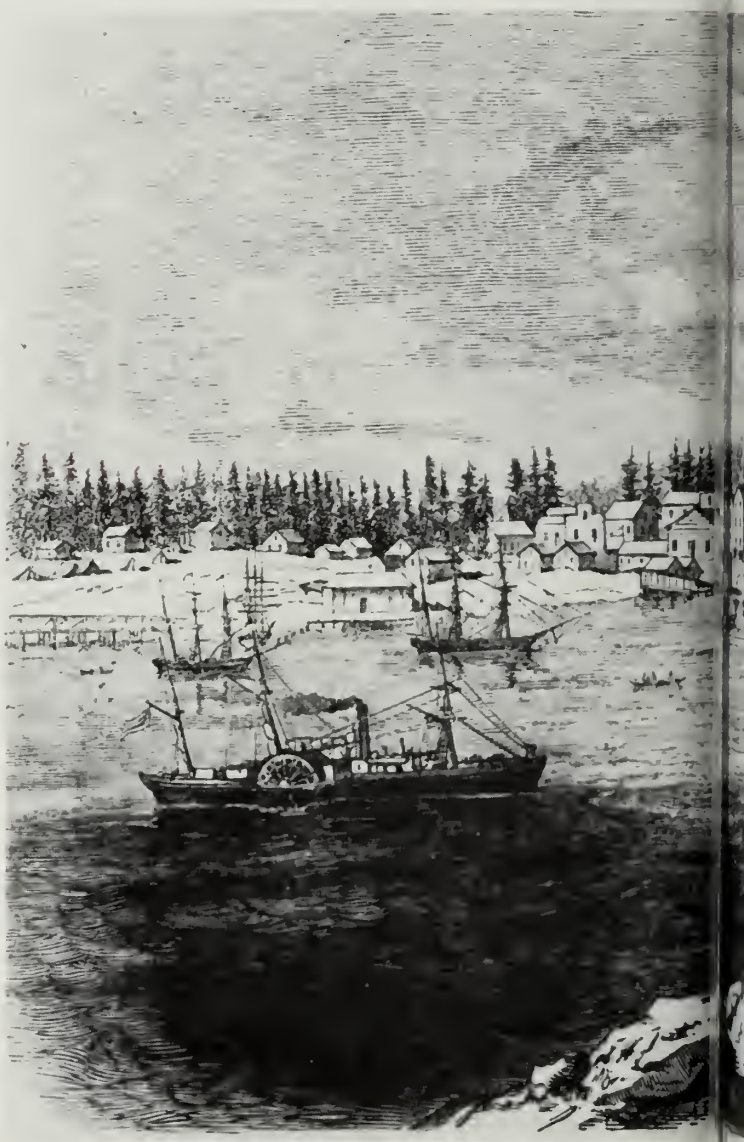
In February of 1864, a year after the Emancipation Proclamation prohibited slavery in the United States, the black editor of San Francisco's *Pacific Appeal*, Peter Bell, penned with optimism:

> A new era has already dawned, and it is with yourselves to decide as to whether you or your children shall be made capable of assuming the responsible positions which already are available to you. The Federal government and the good and intelligent among the American people are endeavoring to help you.[1]

While Bell's announcement of a new American consciousness may have been premature, many black Californians must have found consolation and hope in his faith that the worst times were over. In the state's first decade Biblically-phrased legislation discriminating against blacks, Indians, Mexicans, Chinese, and Mongolians had found its way into the solemn library of California law, and native racism dominated the lives of black people so completely that many, including Bell, must have believed that conditions could only improve.

In response to this triumph of white supremacy in the 1850's, a group of dissatisfied free blacks—some of them forty-niners—pulled up roots once again and moved north to the British colony of Vancouver Island in search of freedom from racial discrimination. In part, Bell must have been writing to these black emigrés, many of them former civil rights leaders, with the hope of convincing them to return to the United States and take up the struggle.

The final decision to abandon the United States must have been painful for the black families and individuals who not so long ago had believed that racism would have no place in El Dorado. The decision had been a decade in the making, however, as one after another discriminatory concept became California legal gospel. As early as the autumn months of 1849 the proper posi-



Mr. Edwards, upon graduating from Pomona College, maintained an avid interest in California history and actively supported the Sierra Club.

COMPLEXIONAL DISTINCTION
Rush California & British Columbia



An 1858 lithograph shows Victoria as it looked when the black émigrés from California arrived in the Vancouver Island harbor.

By 1858, eight California legislatures had built an appallingly extensive body of discriminatory laws.

tion of black people in California society had been debated long and heatedly by the constitutional convention at Monterey. San Francisco's delegates had been instructed "by all honorable means to oppose any act, measure, provision, or ordinance that is calculated to further the introduction of domestic slavery into the territory of California,"[2] and with surprisingly modest demurs, they and their fellows agreed that slavery was unacceptable within the boundaries of the proposed state. The accord on this matter reflected not liberal, humanitarian concerns, however, but merely resistance to the threat of economic competition with slave labor in the mines.

Having disposed of the slavery question directly, the convention then moved to the critical question regarding the exclusion of "free persons of color" from California. The question was brought formally to the convention's attention on September 11, withdrawn to allow other business to proceed, and reopened on September 19, 1849. M. M. McCarver, born in Kentucky's Madison County and arrived in Sacramento in 1848, rose that day to urge inclusion of these phrases in the constitution:

> The Legislature shall, at its first session, pass such laws as will effectively prohibit free persons of color from immigrating to and settling in this State, and to effectively prevent the owners of slaves from bringing them into this State for the purpose of setting them free.[3]

McCarver's logic, and that of many conventioneers, was that slaves freed by their masters solely to become indentured servants in the mines would constitute a threat to order "greater than slavery itself."[4]

A similar motion finally came to vote on October 3, but was defeated 31-8. Fear that United States Congress might consider the clause in violation of the Federal Constitution, and that it might therefore reject the California Constitution as a whole and delay statehood, prompted the legislature, with a wisdom more broadly reflecting the opinion of the public, to postpone dealing with the issue until its first session.[5]

The question of suffrage was resolved in an uneasy compromise which limited the right to vote to white males and instructed the legislature to consider extending the franchise to certain Indians or descendants of Indians. Knowing that legislative action was unlikely on this issue, the constitution-makers reasoned that this open-ended decision might forestall friction with Mexico and Mexican Californians with Indian ancestry. As far as the convention was concerned, suffrage for blacks was a closed issue.[6]

The prejudice against free blacks expressed in the constitutional convention carried over into the first legislature and maintained momentum as the decade progressed. The state's first governor, Peter Burnett, openly opposed the acceptance of free negroes within California's golden boundaries. The legislature, which gathered in 1850, was divided on the question. One faction, dominated by northern and southern whites representing the mining districts, feared economic competition with alien or colored races and worked persistently but without success for the exclusion of blacks. The legislature's majority was less insistent on the point of prohibition but promptly began to write statutes which humiliated, restricted, and periled any blacks who chose to enter California.

Fears expressed through legislative and social discrimination were generous in relation to the number of blacks in residence. The California census of 1850 revealed fewer than 1,000 black pioneers in a total population estimated at between 100,000 and 175,000. The number rose to 2,200 according to a special census taken in 1852 and to 4,086, including 2,062 mulattoes, in 1860. Only four of the state's counties had more than 100 free blacks in residence in 1860.[7] In the gold counties, .8 per cent of the population was black, and in the San Francisco Bay area, where they tended to concentrate, they amounted to 1.6 per cent of the population.[8] Blacks accounted for about 1 per cent of California's population during the state's first decade, proving, in part at

By the 1860's Victoria's Yates Street evidenced its new-found gold rush prosperity.

least, the effectiveness of the lawmakers' attempts at exclusion.

By 1858, eight California legislatures had built an appallingly extensive body of discriminatory laws including: the prohibition of testimony in civil and criminal actions involving whites; the institution of poll and property taxes; the invalidation of marriages between whites and blacks or mulattoes; exclusion from the state homestead law; exclusion from jury eligibility; and the lapsing of legislation affecting free blacks' rights under Fugitive Slave laws. In practical terms this meant that free blacks, and those brought in indenture to California during the late 1840's and the early 1850's, lived a lean socio-political existence. The early months of 1858 brought events which heightened the despair of blacks, as their children were excluded from public schools attended by whites. The concurrent Archy Lee case, which verified the right of a slaveholder to repossess a slave who had escaped to California, made apparent the blacks' vulnerability to white statutes.[9]

The general public first learned of the fugitive slave matter in January when it was reported that Lee had been arrested after escaping his master and was being held for deportation. Lee was first ruled free and then reapprehended at the insistence of his owner, C. A. Stovall of Mississippi. Stovall claimed he was only passing through California and had remained in the Sacramento area only long enough to regain his health (this recuperatory period had involved five months of teaching school, hiring out his slave, and managing a modest-



British Governor James Douglas invited California blacks to immigrate to Vancouver Island. He needed a loyal labor force to facilitate construction of government buildings, such as the parliament structures known as "the birdcages" (photo below, c.1870).



size cattle ranch). The case came to the state's supreme court where Chief Justice Peter Burnett judged the matter in company with ex-Texan Justice David S. Terry. They found that the master had forfeited his right to the slave by bringing him to a free state after its admission to the Union and by remaining for a substantial time, but ruled that an exception should be made because the master was young, in poor health, and in need of his slave's services. Their decision, instructive as to the flexibility of the law, was received with disbelief in black and many white communities alike.[10]

Lee's appeal for release on habeas corpus after the Burnett-Terry ruling was heard on March 8 before Judge Frolon who denied Stovall's arguments for dismissal. Lee was again discharged, again arrested at Stovall's urging, and taken to the court of United States Commissioner Pen Johnson. The commissioner found numerous discrepancies in Stovall's testimony and, combining the evidence with interpretation of the law less sympathetic to Stovall, ruled that Lee was indeed free.

While the case followed its bizarre course through the courts, mining county members in the legislature busily sponsored drives to re-establish the state's fugitive slave laws which had lapsed in 1855—and to pass legislation which once and for all would bar blacks from entering or residing in the state. Neither proposal became law, although the exclusion act came within a whisker of passing. In all probability it failed because differences between the assembly and senate versions could not be resolved before the session ended.[11] To many blacks in California it was a clear sign that their safety and prosperity was in constant jeopardy.

While black Californians watched with trepidation the course of the Archy Lee trial and yet another legislature moving for a black exclusion act, events to the north—events similar to the ones which had prompted the sudden migration to California in the early 1850's—seemed to promise an opportunity for a better and more secure life in another country. The discovery of gold at Fraser River in British Columbia had enticed most of the white laborers of Britain's Vancouver Island to the gold fields. As a result Governor James Douglas found himself without a work force with which to expand governmental functions and construct offices in Victoria. A small labor pool of Indians remained, but he considered them "a rather unruly force, requiring very close and constant superintendence. . . ."[12]

A single solution to the blacks' dismay and the gov-

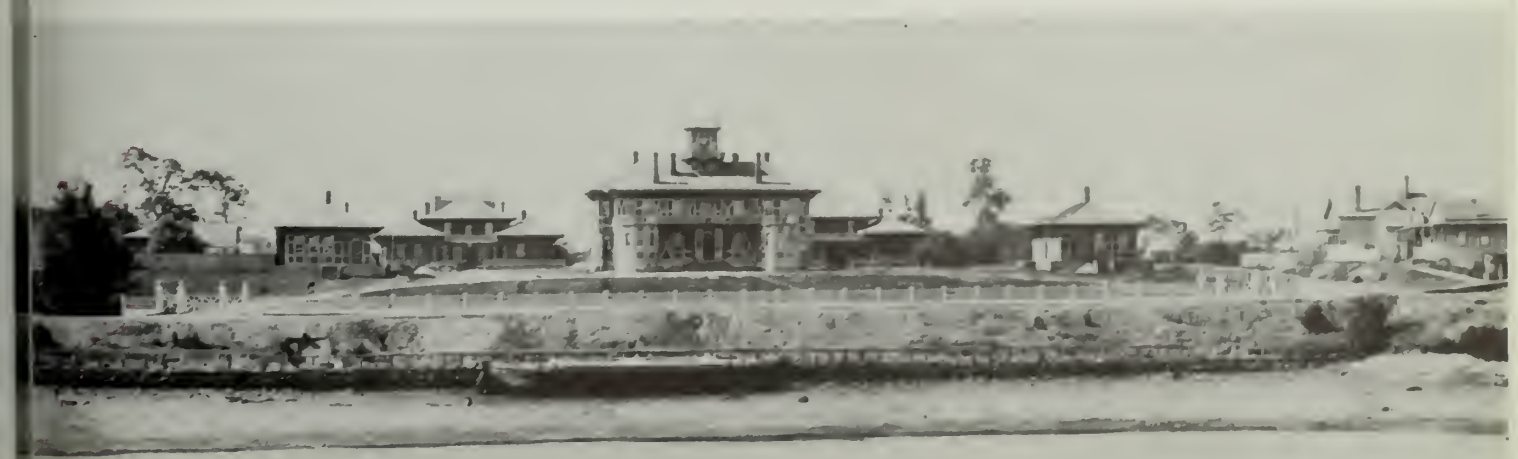
ernor's need was developing in the south. Speakers at a meeting held in San Francisco's Zion Church the day of Archy Lee's final release voiced their anger at the proposed exclusion act and declared that they would "not be degraded by the enactment of such an unjust and unnecessary law against them by their own countrymen."[13] The suggestion was made then that they emigrate to Vancouver Island, to Sonora, or to a Central American republic to establish a permanent home for themselves on the Pacific coast. On receiving an indirect invitation from Douglas soon thereafter, and intimations of employment and land, they decided on British Columbia.

On April 20, 1858, the *Columbia*, *Golden Age*, and *Commodore* each embarked San Francisco passengers for the north, and a hopeful band of some thirty-five blacks, caught in a sea of gold seekers on the *Commodore*'s decks, said their goodbyes to their homeland and turned their hopes northward to the British colony. San Francisco's *Daily Morning Chronicle* inflated the number of departing blacks to well beyond the actual but caught the contingent's mood:

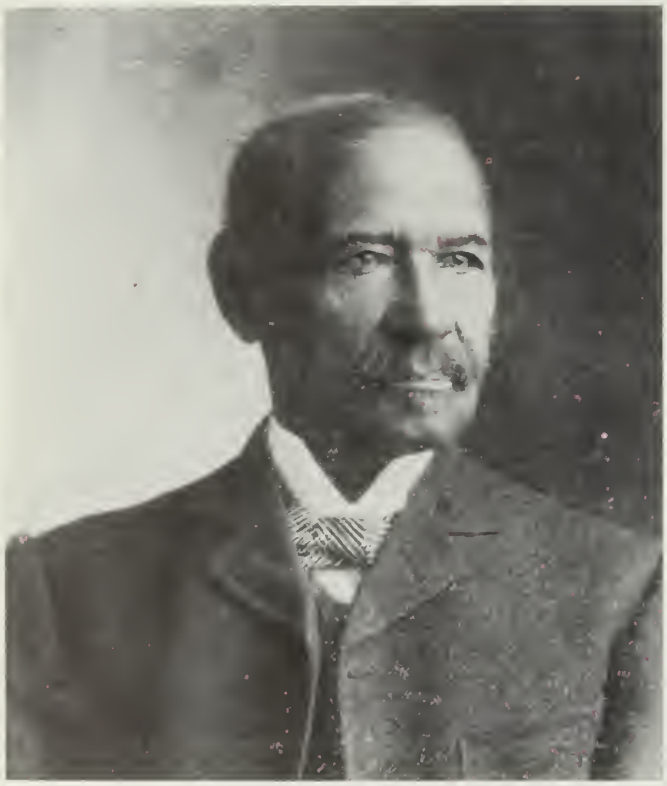
> By the steamers *Commodore* and *Columbia*—which sailed yesterday for Puget Sound and the British Possessions in the North, over two hundred colored people, principally from this city and Sacramento, many of whom were industrious and useful members of the community in which they resided, took passage, intending to make that region their future home. The majority of the emigrants propose settling at Victoria, V[ancouver] I[sland], and have taken with them their families, household goods, and implements for business. That the colored folks are in earnest about this matter may be inferred from the remark of one of them, who, referring to his future home in Victoria, said with considerable warmth, "Yes sir, I intend to lay my bones there."[15]

The advance party was followed by hundreds more over the next several years. Estimates of the number of immigrants run as high as 800[16] and as low as several hundred. The Reverend Matthew Macfie, a Congregational minister who went to Vancouver Island in 1859, set the number at 400; Mifflin Gibbs, one of the California and Victoria community's most respected and articulate spokesmen, reported that "three to four hundred colored men from California and other states, with their families settled in Victoria. . . ."[17] A latter-day historian determined 400 as an accurate number, a figure which includes the blacks that went to outlying settlements on Salt Spring Island and elsewhere in British Columbia. Whatever the actual figures, the exodus came at a time in American history when ". . . to be a negro and a pioneer required a double allowance of courage and ambition."[18]

For many blacks, however, hopes, courage, and ambition were not enough, for British Columbia failed to be the expected haven from discrimination. For many the island experience became another disappointed dream, if not the full tragedy one historian has assessed.[19]



Mifflin Wister Gibbs, eloquent black spokesman and permanent exile from American racism.



Even as they sailed north on the *Commodore*, a portent of things to come was visited on the first band of pioneers. White stowaways and troublemakers bound for the gold fields made the voyage periodically unpleasant for the black passengers by "kicking over their pans of food."[20] In Victoria itself, many of the white colonists initially practiced friendliness, but they were soon won over to prejudice by their companions. James Pilton, an historian of the colony, claims that many of the British residents became more race-conscious than the Americans, and some of the blacks complained of "more prejudice against them in British Columbia than in many parts of the United States."[21]

As early as May 20, 1858, the *San Francisco Daily Morning Chronicle* carried a letter from Victoria which reflected the situation of native prejudice. "Some of the colored people who started a negro colony at Vancouver," it read, "have come over here disgusted with British liberty."[22] A century later, the *Victoria Daily Colonist* speculated that Governor Douglas himself had secret dual purposes of a political nature in inviting the blacks to Vancouver Island. The paper asserted that "Douglas did not give the negro delegation a fully accurate picture of conditions. He was anxious to have a group of people in the colony who would be loyal to him from the outset; he was not color-prejudiced, but that was in sharp contrast with his attitude towards aliens, whom he regarded as a dangerous foreign element, fearing their influence on customs in social and economic spheres which would make it difficult to retain close control over the development of the colony. It seemed to him, however, that the Negroes would accept any rules and regulations which he laid down, so long as they themselves were treated with equality...."[23]

While racism and prejudice came to infect most native Victorians, a less conditional welcome was extended to the new blacks by the Reverend Edward Cridge, who persisted in his friendship as long as he remained on the island. He invited the blacks to join his church, where, ironically, they first met the formal discrimination they were fleeing. In August of 1858 the *Victoria Gazette* carried a letter from members of Reverend Cridge's church complaining how their delicacy had been offended: "Last Sabbath was an unusually warm day. The little Chapel was crowded as usual with a 'smart sprinkle' of blacks, *generously* mixed with in the whites. The Ethiopinans *perspired*! They always do when out of place. Several white gentlemen left their seats vacant, and sought the purer atmosphere outside; others moodily endured the aromatic luxury of their positions, in no very pious frame of mind."[24]

Soon white members of Reverend Cridge's congregation demanded a segregated black gallery, but the minister refused and scolded his parishioners for their intolerance. Many whites withdrew from the church,

finding the double burden of black neighbors and a lecture on Christianity too much to accept.

The traveler, Kinahan Cornwallis, a visitor in Victoria during May and June of 1858, was convinced that the black was the parent of his own discomfort. "I observed that the coloured people, i.e. 'niggers', collected here, many of whom were 'real estate' owners, conducted themselves in a manner rather bellicose than otherwise which of course excited derision; and one of their number, I heard, attempted to take his seat with white people at a boarding house table in town, but was expelled in a manner as prompt and merciless as the style of doing the thing was ludicrous. The newly appointed police of the place were negroes, and consequently heartily despised by the Americans. . . ."[25]

The *Victoria Colonist* echoed Cornwallis' sentiments, asserting that ". . . undoubtedly, the coloured people were to blame for much of the antagonism aroused against them, for they tended to flaunt their newly acquired privileges before the race-conscious Americans. They condemned everything American and hated some Englishmen merely because they had lived in the United States. . . ."[26]

Even fellow blacks in California cast some doleful glances in the direction of the Victoria colonists. In 1859 the executive committee of the Colored People of the State of California remarked in its financial and progress report to the membership: "By referring to their exhibit you will find that the largest amount of money ever in their Treasury is $649.37 in the month of February, 1856, immediately after the first Convention, a sum wholly insufficient to accomplish the most insignificant purpose, and when compared to the important nature of the right of oath to our people, or any other political questions, sinks into nothingness. Again, in the late great Fraser excitement, when the desire to migrate to the new El Dorado became a mania, pervading all classes, many of our best men, the bone and sinew, the wealth and intelligence of our people, became infatuated with the golden prospects, and left the State for a new theatre of action. . . ." The organization, disheartened by a lack of progress and the decline suffered with the departure for British Columbia of many of its most potent members, then abandoned its struggle and, indeed, did not meet again until 1864.[27]

During the elections of 1860, political conflict hardened anti-black sentiment in Victoria. The majority of the blacks born in the United States had not yet qualified for citizenship, but, according to the *Daily Colonist*, it was "very craftily suggested that since the black colonists, according to the Dred Scott decision, were not legally citizens of any country, they could vote in the coming election by merely taking an oath of allegiance."[28] When the blacks did vote as a bloc, they evoked charges of illegality and threats of economic boycott.

Angered by what it judged as a liberal definition of citizenship and disappointed by the defeat of a candidate it had supported, the *Colonist* introduced the idea of reprisals. "What," it asked, "would be the daily receipts of the hundred and fifty coloured labourers, restaurant, store and shopkeepers of Victoria, were the patronage of the whites all withdrawn from them?"[29] In response, white bartenders refused to serve blacks after the election controversy.

Shortly thereafter, a Court of Revision ruled on March 23, 1860, that the black people's votes were invalid. Even after the courts judged that American-born blacks could not have the same rights and privileges as British subjects, the question remained about blacks who were British subjects by birth or naturalization. Would they be given the same political rights as whites? The question was answered in the fall of 1861 when Jacob Francis, a British black, was declared eligible to seek a seat in the legislative assembly. The Vancouver Island Aliens Act passed in that same year prohibited blacks who were not officially awarded British citizenship from holding legislative office.



Some California blacks homesteaded at Saanich, Vancouver Island, where they raised hops while their children attended Saanich's first school.



That same year, a black had been called to serve on a Vancouver Island jury. He was the only blackman to sit in a jury box until 1872, excepting several who served on a coroner's jury assembled in the interim to hear a case involving the murder of a black.

Discrimination continued when Victoria blacks were refused membership in the city's volunteer fire brigade in 1860. They responded by asking Governor Douglas for permission to form a volunteer militia at their own expense. Douglas was agreeable, since troublesome Indians were moving closer to Victoria, and no comparable offer for defense was forthcoming from the white community. The black unit, the colony's lone military force for several years, was known as the Victoria Pioneer Rifle Corps and first included sixty men commanded by Fortune Richard. Sworn into service in July, 1861, the blacks promptly built a drill hall and applied to the government for arms. Military supplies had arrived in the colony, but their request for rifles was delayed, and for some time Victoria was protected by a weaponless militia.

The Rifle Corps was first financed with funds raised in the black community through a variety of social functions; then it was augmented in December of 1861 by a grant of forty-five pounds from the governor's treasury. Interest in the corps waned beginning in 1862, but revived in 1864 when the unit expected to participate in welcoming ceremonies for the new governor.

A speech given to the unit on March 14, 1864, just before the festivities, illustrates the loyalty and patriotism, yet awareness of reality that characterized the black colony. The occasion was the presentation of a silk Union Jack to the corps by a committee of black women. Sarah Pointer, the wife of Nathan Pointer who was one of the first American blacks naturalized in Victoria, stepped forward, laid the embroidered colors on the drum, stepped back, and addressed the militia:

Captain and members of the Victoria Pioneer Rifle Company:

In behalf of the ladies of Victoria I present you this flag. It affords us much pleasure so to do, as we know your loyalty to this government is proverbial. The fostering care it has shown to the oppressed of our race, leaves us under many obligations to the sagacity and wisdom of her statesmen. Yet in this far-distant Colony of Her Majesty's Dominion we have many causes to complain. True, you have not as yet been called on to rally under this flag for protection; yet the war of complexional distinction is upon us, it is more ravaging to us as a people than that of Mars. But men, as long as this flag shall wave over you, you may rest assured that no man, or set of men, or nations, can successfully grind you down under the iron heel of oppression.[30]

Loyalty or no, departing Governor Douglas' supporters had no intention of admitting the blacks to his farewell banquet that day. Instead, they suggested the blacks march in the parade welcoming Governor Edward Kennedy. The parade organizers objected, however, since it meant that the blacks, as a military unit, would appear at the head of the procession.[31]

Caught between two rebuffs, the black unit sought support from the community at large and paraded their band through Victoria's streets to publicize their case. Community support was not forthcoming, and they were firmly and finally refused a place in the March 25 parade. Demoralized but not defeated, a week later they marched to the legislature where their commander presented an address of welcome to the new governor.[32]

On a day to day basis as well as formal occasions, discrimination against the black immigrants from the United States was commonplace. Following efforts to seat themselves in the main audience at theaters, the *Victoria Daily Press* of December 1, 1861, carried this notice for one of the city's houses: "Coloured people not admitted to any part of the building . . .", and a sign posted in front of the Colonial Theatre proclaimed, "Colored people not admitted to any part of the House



California's blacks organized Victoria's first military regiment, the Pioneer Rifle Corps, for defense against Indian attack.

except the Gallery." The tradition of exclusion continued over a period of years, as evidenced by a playbill for October 5, 1864, noting, "Colored persons cannot be admitted into the Dress Circle or Orchestra Seats. . . ."

A black visitor to Victoria wrote San Francisco's black newspaper, the *Pacific Appeal*, in 1864 that "prejudice is too strong in Vancouver Island. We have brighter prospects of political elevation under our own government, than in any British colony on this coast. . . ."[33] These remarks were endorsed by James Williams, a fugitive slave who had migrated to the island in the late 1850's to escape prejudices in California. Finding the British and white immigrants just as antagonistic and economic opportunity more limited, he returned to Sacramento.[34]

Racial discrimination was not practiced uniformly and across the board in British Columbia, however, and the general opinion among blacks was that it was not as intense as in the United States since it did not bear the stamp of official approval. In the gold fields, and on Salt Spring Island off Vancouver's northeast coast, outward manifestations of discrimination and prejudice occurred seldom, and blacks and whites even worked in partnership in the mines.[35] Gibbs, often reserved in his appraisals, remarked that the first black settlers were received with a "frankness and cordiality so peculiarly British"[36] and omits mention of the intolerance, subtle or overt, which followed for some.

In contrast, another writer asserts that the controversy surrounding the inaugural ceremonies in 1864 and the disbanding of the Rifle Corps two years later symbolized "the rejection of the Negroes as a group on Vancouver Island." He continues that "even though many of them were accepted as individuals and some of their descendants still live in British Columbia, the attempt at establishing an integrated Negro settlement in the Colony had proven a failure."[37]

Perhaps the most telling evidence of black people's true experiences in British Columbia lies in the simple fact that a large number willingly returned to the United

States following the Civil War. Certainly, political events seemed to offer a change for the better. In California, the legislature revised the state's testimony laws in 1863, at last allowing blacks to appear as witnesses in civil and criminal actions. Naturally, President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation that same year offered an encouraging sign of change. The passage in 1865 of the Constitution's Thirteenth Amendment which abolished slavery and the passage of a civil rights act over President Johnson's veto the following year appeared to be emphatic reversals of earlier attitudes.

Bell wrote as the Civil War was ending that "a new era has already dawned." But the vision of the future that filled his mind, and the vision that brought numbers of California blacks back to the United States after their disappointing experience in British Columbia, were, in retrospect, at least a century premature.

The photographs are courtesy the Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

Notes

1. *Pacific Appeal*, February 6, 1864.
2. Frank Soulé, John W. Gihon, and James Nisbit, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1854), p. 220.
3. John Ross Browne, *Report of the Debates in the Convention of California, On the Formation of the State Constitution* (Washington, D.C., 1850), p. 137.
4. Quoted in Walton E. Bean, *California, An Interpretive History* (New York, 1968), p. 130.
5. Bean, *California*, 130.
6. *The Constitution of the State of California*, Article II, Section 1 (1850); Bean, *California*, 130.
7. Philip M. Montesano, "San Francisco Black Churches in the Early 1860's: Political Pressure Group," *California Historical Quarterly*, 52 (Summer, 1973): 146; Davis McEntire, *The Population of California* (San Francisco, 1946), p. 364.
8. McEntire, *Population of California*, 364.
9. Charles Wollenberg, editor, *Ethnic Conflict in California History* (Los Angeles, 1970), p. 129.
10. F. W. Howay, "The Negro Immigration in 1858," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 3 (April, 1939): 103, 104.
11. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate*, Ninth Session, State of California, (Sacramento, 1858).
12. James Douglas to Benjamin Hawes, April 7, 1858, Vancouver Island Miscellaneous Letters, June 22, 1850, to March 5, 1859, in Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.
13. *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 15, 1858.
14. Advertisements in the *San Francisco Daily Morning Chronicle*, April 18–19, 1858, announced departure of the *Commodore* from Pacific Wharf at 10 A.M. The most reliable figure reported is believed to be thirty-five, that entered by the Reverend Edward Cridge of Victoria, in his diary the day following the *Commodore*'s arrival in the colony.
15. *San Francisco Daily Morning Chronicle*, April 21, 1858.
16. Mifflin W. Gibbs, *Shadow and Light, An Autobiography* (New York, 1968), p. 63.
17. *Ibid.*, 63.
18. Cecil Clark, "Salt Spring Knew the Curse of the Panalkuts in the Days of the Negro Pioneers," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, April 10, 1961.
19. James William Pilton, "Negro Settlement in British Columbia, 1858–1871" (Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1951), p. 176.
20. *Daily Alta California*, May 6, 1858.
21. Pilton, "Negro Settlement," 176.
22. *San Francisco Daily Morning Chronicle*, May 20, 1858.
23. *Victoria Daily Colonist*, February 2, 1958.
24. *Victoria Gazette*, August 28, 1858.
25. Kinahan Cornwallis, *The New El Dorado, or, British Columbia* (London, 1858), p. 283, as quoted in Pilton, "Negro Settlement."
26. *Victoria Daily Colonist*, January 12, 1860.
27. "Address of the State Executive Committee to the Colored People of the State of California" (Sacramento, 1858), p. 13, in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. For information on black civil rights activities and the effect of loss of prominent leaders, see Rudolph M. Lapp, "Negro Rights Activities in Gold Rush California," *California Historical Quarterly*, 45 (March, 1966): 3–20.
28. *Victoria Daily Colonist*, May 21, 1861.
29. *Victoria Daily Colonist*, July 26, 1860.
30. Quoted in Pilton, "Negro Settlement," 176.
31. A. J. Arnold, "It Was the Negroes, Seeking Freedom, Who Formed First Victoria Militia," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, February 9, 1958.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Pacific Appeal*, 1864, as quoted by Pilton, "Negro Settlement," 180.
34. Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and The Slavery Extension Controversy* (Urbana, 1967).
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36. *Victoria Gazette*, August 28, 1858.
37. Arnold, "Negroes Seeking Freedom."

Ynez Violé O'Neill

Father Serra plans the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano

Much as the founding of the United States over 200 years ago was accomplished not in a single day or incident, so the establishment of the Mission San Juan Capistrano on November 1 of that same year, 1776, resulted from a chain of contributory, if disparate, events.[1] Improved military, missionary, and supply-ship support from Central Mexico made possible in the mid-seventies the creation of a half-dozen missions in Alta California, but the missionary zeal of Father Junípero Serra proved a paramount factor in this expansive effort to secure the vast northern territory for Spain. Serra's penning of a memorandum on August 21, 1775[2]—a document which set forth dispositions for accomplishing the sixth of Serra's missions—formally established the next task of the Franciscan fathers in the largely unclaimed wilderness. Importantly, too, the holograph or document solely in Serra's hand reveals the practical, eighteenth-century attentions and problems related to the sustained mission-building effort. As it makes evident, securing appropriate icons and candles for the altar, beads for the natives, and chalice for the sacraments (to be borrowed from Mission San Diego) was no less a consideration than amassing adequate provisions, livestock, and tools for the expedition. The original Serra manuscript, now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Honeyman, is a rare still-existing document in Serra's own hand ordering the founding of one of his missions.[3]

The immediate events leading to Serra's order for the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano have been clearly established. His dream for establishing a chain of stations in Alta California had been frustrated during the spring and early summer of 1775, for although he had enough friars to staff additional missions,[4] an edict of the viceregal council forbade founding any new institutions until sufficient troops could be assigned to protect them.[5] On August 10, 1775, two letters from the viceroy[6] arrived

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The help and encouragement offered by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Honeyman during the preparation of this article and their kindness in providing photographs of the document and a painting in their collection are most gratefully acknowledged. Professor and Mrs. James Lockhart provided expert assistance in rendering the text.

in Monterey which unblocked this impasse. One of them directed the commandant of the Presidio of Monterey, Fernando de Rivera y Moncada,[7] to assist Father Serra in establishing one or two new missions armed with soldiers acquired from the presidios and from neighboring missions,[8] and the other informed Father Serra of the viceroy's message to Rivera.[9] Rivera immediately departed Monterey for Carmel to counsel with Father Serra.[10]

An agreement concerning the foundation of a new mission north of San Diego was finally hammered out in the August conferences between the commandant of the Monterey Presidio and the father president of the missions. The plans were confirmed in the document translated below of August 21, 1775, which authorizes and prepares for the founding.[11]

Viva Jesús, María, Joseph![12]

The Mission of San Juan Capistrano,[13] *which will be founded in the valley of the same name, or its environs,*[14] *halfway between those of San Diego and of San Gabriel of the Earthquakes,*[15] *about twenty leagues*[16] *distant from each of them, and about two leagues from the coast of the South Sea,*[17] *according to the agreement reached between the Captain Commandant Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada and the Father President of the Missions, Friar Junípero Serra, on the thirteenth of August, 1775, by the order and instructions of his Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain, which were issued the twenty-fourth of May, and were received the tenth of August of this same year.*

Dispositions

I assigned and named as missionary ministers for the new mission:

The Father Preacher Friar Fermín Francisco Lasuén,[18] *and*

The Father Preacher Friar Gregorio Amurrió.[19]

For the escort, the Commandant accepted of the four soldiers offered by the missions only two, to whom he added four more from the presidios, so that there are

Six leatherjackets, and
A muleteer named Feliciano.

Item—Of the Indians, who with the permission of his Excellency, the Viceroy, came up from Baja California[20] *of their own free will at the departure of our own religious, assigned to this mission for its inception and for its agriculture,*

Two families of man and wife, and
Four unmarried Indian youths.

Concerning provisions, *at my request, the Commandant granted,*

Four tercios[21] *of fine flour*
Two ditto of unsifted flour
Three tercios of beans
A tercio of rice,
and ordered from the San Diego warehouse,
Twenty-five fanegas[22] *of corn.*

And to please the natives,[23] *and to reciprocate their little gifts, I gave to Father Lasuén,*

Four bundles of various colored beads.

Concerning cattle—of the cows that have just arrived in San Diego, from Baja California, assigned to this mission are:

Nine milch cows and a bull and
A yoke of broken oxen from San Buenaventura, and
I will take care to replace them when that desired foundation is realized,[24]

As to mules and horses, the Father Preachers of this mission have been assigned and have received:

Eight pack mules, six broken and two unbroken
Three broken saddle mules
Three broken horses
Two mares and one of them with her colt.

Concerning pigs—the San Diego Mission will give a boar and a sow, and

Concerning chickens—From there (that mission), or from San Gabriel, however they should prefer.

Item—Two saddles equipped with their bridles, etc. for the Father Preachers.

Item—Two ditto also completely equipped for the young cowhands.

Concerning tools, I delivered to Father Lasuén:

Twelve big new hoes
Two axes for woodcutting or preparing charcoal
Six large machetes for clearing
Six large new knives and
the branding iron for marking livestock in this form
CAP

As for crowbars, plowshares or other ironware which they should need until the memorial from Mexico should arrive.[25] *I have written to the Father Preachers of San Gabriel to release those in the stores of San Buenaventura which are kept at the said mission.*

For the Church and the Sacristy, they have

One pulpit crucifix of our Lord for the altar.

One painting, more than a vara long of the Most Blessed Mary, depicted as the Heavenly Shepherdess. In the background, a condemned man is represented, and this is the painting that Father Campa used.[26]

Item—Another painting of a little more than a third of a vara depicting Our Lady of Solitude.

Item—(among others) A print of our Sainted Patron.

Item—About four varas of muslin to make a baldachin and a backdrop for the altar.

Item—A new missal with the saints of our order.

Item—A number of corporals, doubled of fine linen, with a burse, and a small pall.

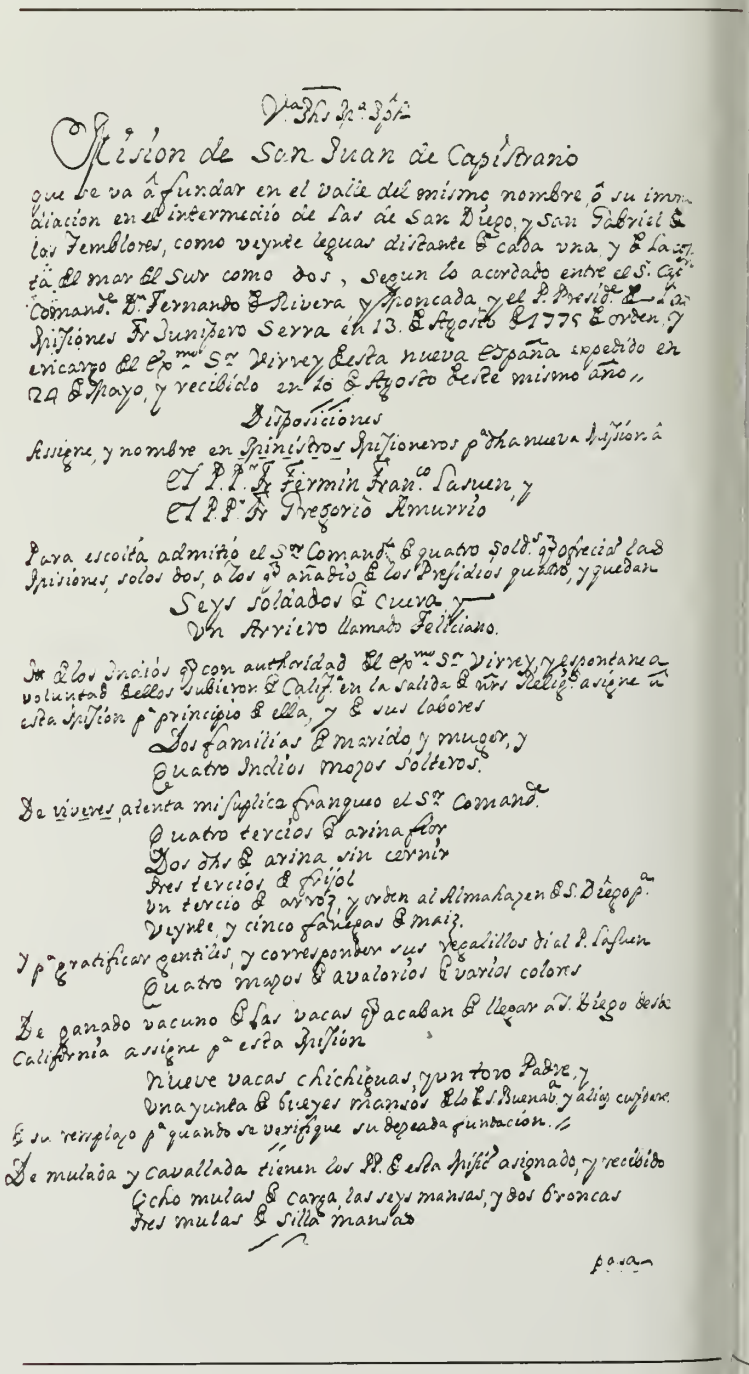
Item—An amice of Breton lace, and two purificators of fine linen.

Item—A rochet of fine white brabant linen with its lace embroidery.

Item—Castilian wax sufficient for masses for a year.

Item—As for wine, the two closest missions will supply what they can.

Item—Assigned to this mission are all the ornaments for the church as well as for the house which have come from Baja California, that should be found to have been for the use of the two aforesaid ministers and of the Father Preachers Prestamero[27] *and Imas.*[28]



Diario de José

Mision de San Juan de Capistrano

que se va á fundar en el valle del mismo nombre, ó su immediacion en el intermedio de las de San Diego, y San Gabriel á los Temblores, como veynte leguas distante de cada una y de la costa del mar del Sur como dos, segun lo acordado entre el Sr. Comandante D. Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, y el P. Presidente de las Misiones Fr. Junipero Serra en 13. de Agosto de 1775 de orden y encargo del Exmo. Sr. Virrey de esta nueva España expedido en 24 de Mayo, y recibido en 10 de Agosto deste mismo año.

Disposiciones

Assigne, y nombre en Ministros Misioneros p.ª dha nueva Mision á
El P. P.te D. Fermin Fran.co Lasuen, y
El P. F. Gregorio Amurrio

Para escolta admitió el Sr. Comand.te quatro Sold.s q.e ofrecia las Misiones, solos dos, á los q.e añadio de los Presidios q.e dan, y quedan
Seys Soldados y Cuera y
Un Arriero llamado Feliciano.

Y de los Indios q.e con authoridad del Exmo. Sr. Virrey y responsiva a voluntad de ellos pudieron ser Calif.s en la salida de mis Reli.s assigne á esta Mision p.ª principio de ella, y de sus labores
Dos familias de marido y muger, y
Quatro Indios mayores solteros.

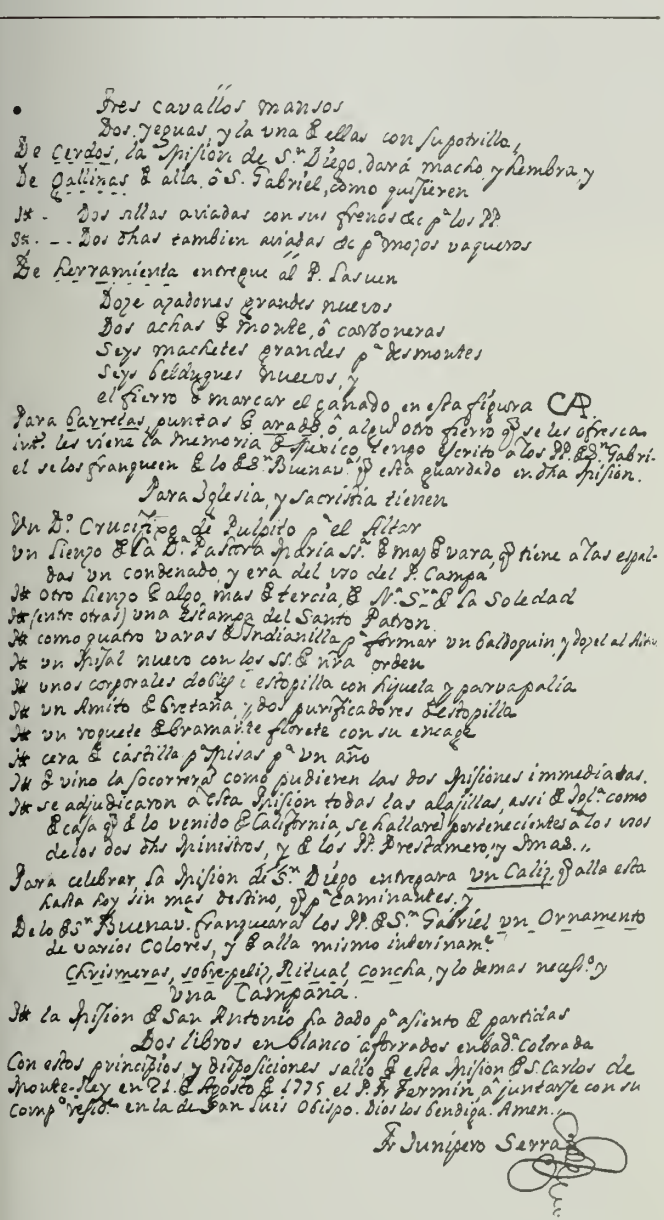
De viveres aprueba mi superior franqueo el Sr. Comand.te
Quatro tercios de harina flor
Dos dhos de harina sin cernir
Tres tercios de frijol
Un tercio de arroz, y orden al Almacayen de S. Diego p.ª
Veynte y cinco fanegas de maiz.

Y p.ª gratificar gentiles, y corresponder sus regalillos dio al P. Lasuen
Quatro mayos de avalorios de varios colores

De ganado vacuno de las vacas q.e acaban de llegar á S. Diego desde California assigne p.ª esta Mision
Nueve vacas chichiguas, y un toro Padre, y
Una yunta de bueyes mansos de los de S. Buenav.a y dho cujunte
de su respecto p.ª quando se verifique su deseada fundacion.

De mulada y caballada tienen los RR. de esta Mision assignado, y recibido
Ocho mulas de carga las seys mansas, y dos broncas
Tres mulas de Silla mansas

pasan



• Tres cavallos mansos
Dos yeguas, y la una de ellas con supotrilla,
De Cerdos, la Mision de S.n Diego dará macho y hembra y
De Gallinas de alla ô S. Gabriel, como quisieren
It. Dos sillas aviadas con sus frenos de q.e los PP.
It. Dos mas tambien aviadas de q.e mejor vaqueros
De Herramienta entregue al P. Lasuen
Doze azadones grandes nuevos
Dos achas de monte, ô carboneras
Seys machetes grandes q.e desmontes
Seys belduques nuevos, y
el fierro de marcar el ganado en esta figura CA
Para barretas puntas de arado ô algun otro fierro q.e les ofrezca
int.e les viene la memoria de Fierro tengo escrito a los PP. de S.n Gabri-
el se los franqueen de lo de S.n Buenav.a q.e está guardado en dha Mision.
Para Iglesia, y Sacristia tienen
Un D.o Crucifixo de Bulpito q.e el Altar
Un Lienzo de la D.a Pastora q.e hay de vara q.e tiene a las espal-
das un condenado, y era del uso del P. Campa
It. otro Lienzo de algo mas de tercia de N.a S.ra de la Soledad
It. (entre otras) una Estampa del Santo Patron.
It. como quatro varas de Indianilla q.e formar un Baldoquin, y dosel al Altar
It. un Frontal nuevo con los SS. de nra orden
It. unos corporales doblados con estopilla con Cenefa y parvapalia
It. un Amito de Bretaña, y dos purificadores de estopilla
It. un roquete de Bramante floreado con su encaje
It. cera de Castilla q.e Misas q.e un año
It. de vino la socorrerá como pudieren las dos Misiones immediatas.
It. se adjudicaron a esta Mision todas las alajillas, assi de Sacr.a como
de Casa q.e de lo venido de California se hallaren pertenecientes a los usos
de los dos dhos Ministros, y de los PP. Presidentes, y Dmas.
Para celebrar la Mision de S.n Diego entregara un Caliz, y Palla esta
hasta hoy sin mas destino, q.e Caminantes. y
De lo de S.n Buenav.a franqueara los PP. de S.n Gabriel un Ornamento
de varios Colores, y de alla mismo interinam.te
Chrismeras, sobrepelliz, Ritual concha, y lo demas necess.o y
una Campana.
It. la Mision de San Antonio ha dado q.e asiento de partidas
Dos libros en blanco aforrados en bad.a Colorada
Con estos principios y disposiciones salio de esta Mision de S.s Carlos de
Monte-Rey en 21. de Agosto de 1775 el P. Fr. Fermin a juntarse con su
Comp.o residente en la de San Luis Obispo. Dios los bendiga. Amen.
Fr Junipero Serra

For celebration of the Mass, the Mission of San Diego will supply a chalice which is there now without any other purpose than to be used for travelers, and

From the stores of San Buenaventura, the Father Preachers of San Gabriel will release a set of vestments of each color, and from the same place provisionally,

Chrisms, surplices, ritual, baptismal shell, *and everything else necessary and A Bell.*

Item—The Mission of San Antonio has given for entries and records Two blank books bound in red leather.

With these beginnings and dispositions, the Father Friar Fermín left this Mission of San Carlos of Monterey on the twenty-first of August, 1775 in order to join with his companion residing at the (Mission) of San Luis Obispo. May God bless them. Amen.[29]

Fr Junipero Serra

Armed with Father Serra's blessing and dispositions, Father Lasuén left Carmel, joined Father Amurrió, his co-missionary minister, and hurried south. Upon reaching San Gabriel Mission, the two friars parted again, Father Amurrió remaining to secure the goods and cattle that Father Serra had assigned to the new establishment, Father Lasuén proceeding to the site of the proposed new mission, where he erected an arbor, raised a large cross, and on October 30, 1775, celebrated mass.

Father Amurrió's arrival eight days later was marked by tragedy, for on the same day, a messenger brought news of an Indian massacre at San Diego. Concerned for their safety, Friars Lasuén and Amurrió suspended work on the new mission immediately. They buried the mission bells and, after loading all movable goods onto pack mules, withdrew to San Diego.[30] A year's delay ensued, but finally, on November 1, 1776, Father Serra himself, on the altar he constructed, celebrated Mass in the valley of San Juan Capistrano,[31] founding the mission he had envisaged long before.

The Serra document and Wiles painting are reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Honeyman, Jr.

Notes

1. On this theme, see Ernest B. Furgurson, "Ten Good Reasons to Keep on Celebrating," *Los Angeles Times*, September 8, 1976, p. 7.
2. A shorter, variant draft of this document in the Stephens Collection of the University of Texas was translated and edited by Antoine Tibesar in *Writings of Junípero Serra* (Washington, D.C., 1956), II:310-313.
3. A rendering of the Honeyman document was prepared by Monsignor Vincent Lloyd-Russell in 1967.
4. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1912), II:166-168 (hereafter cited as Engelhardt, *The Missions*).
5. Engelhardt, *The Missions*, 167, and cf. *Palou's Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, translated and annotated by Maynard J. Geiger (Washington, D.C., 1955), pp. 157-158 (hereafter cited as *Palou's Life*).
6. Don Antonio Mariá Bucareli y Ursúa, Knight Commander (*Fray Bailio*) of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (Knights of Malta), viceroy of New Spain from 1771 to 1779. Born in Seville, Jan. 24, 1717, Bucareli died in Mexico City, April 9, 1779.
7. Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, having commanded the Loreto garrison in Baja California, accompanied the Portolá expedition to Monterey and then returned to Lower California. On August 17, 1773, he was appointed military commander of Upper California, and he remained in that command until February 3, 1777. He was killed by Indians near Yuma on July 17, 1781, during the Colorado River massacre.
8. "*Escribía al Capitán Rivera para que de acuerdo con su Reverencia hiciese lo posible para fundar una ó dos misiones más en los parajes que se juzgasen más á propósito con algunos de los soldados de los presidios, agregándoles otros de las misiones más immediatas.*" Palou, "Noticias," tom. iv, cap. ix, 115, as cited by Engelhardt, *The Missions*, II:168, and cf. Fray Francisco Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton (Berkeley, 1926), IV:57 (hereafter cited as Palou, *Historical Memoirs*).
9. "*No dudo que el Capitán Rivera convendrá á ello y se fundará una ó dos misiones,*" as cited by Engelhardt, *The Missions*, II:168, and *cf.* Palou, *Historical Memoirs*, IV:57, 388, n27.
10. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano Mission* (Los Angeles, 1922), p. 3 (hereafter cited as *San Juan Capistrano*).
11. As Father Geiger observed, "The agreement was made not without difficulty and only after long negotiations," *Palou's Life*, 428, n.11. Father Serra's own account of the negotiations with Rivera appears in a report he wrote to Bucareli on August 17, 1775. See *Writings of Junípero Serra*, II:300-305.
12. A customary salutation found frequently in Father Serra's letters. See *Writings*, II:25, 39, 44, 45, 49.
13. St. John Capistran was born in Capistrano, Italy, in 1385. After having served as governor of Perugia, he entered the Franciscan order on October 4, 1416. For thirty years after his ordination in 1420 he was a successful mission preacher in Italy and was assigned missions abroad on behalf of the popes. Sent first to deal with the Hussites, he was called finally to preach a crusade against the Turks who in 1453 had captured Constantinople. He accompanied the Hungarian General Hunyadi during the great victory at Belgrade in 1456, but shortly after, on October 23, 1456, he died of the plague. He was canonized in 1724. For further details on the mission's patron, see Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano*, 232-235.
14. Father Serra was familiar with the territory he described, having camped in the valley, then called Cañada de San Francisco Solano, with other members of the Portolá expedition on July 24-26, 1769. An account of that camp site appears in *The Diary of Miguel Costansó*, edited by Frederick J. Teggert (Berkeley, 1911), pp. 14-15.
15. The earthquake from which the San Gabriel Mission drew its descriptive epithet occurred on July 28, 1769, as reported in *Costansó*, 16-17.
16. A standard Spanish measure of distance, a league measured 5,000 varas, or about 2.6 miles.
17. This reference to the distance of the proposed site from the sea would seem to be unique in Father Serra's writings, *cf. Writings of Junípero Serra*, II:311; *Palou's Life*, 158; and Palou, Historical *Memoirs*, IV:58. The terms, "*Oceano Asiatico*" or "*Mar del Sur*" were the customary designations for the Pacific Ocean used by the Spanish explorers of the eighteenth century, as is evidenced by the map Costansó drew in 1770, which was printed at Madrid by Hipolito Ricarte in 1771. It is listed by Pedro Torres Lanzas in his *Relación descriptiva de los mapas, planos, & de México y Floridas* (Seville, 1900), I:181-182, no. 255.
18. Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, who was born at Vitoria, Spain, on June 7, 1736, entered the Franciscan Order in 1751 and was ordained, probably in Mexico, before February 25, 1761. He began his missionary work in Baja California, where he remained until the Franciscans turned over their missions to the Dominicans in 1773. Then he traveled overland, first to San Diego and then to San Gabriel Mission. He served as a supernumerary at San Gabriel until June of 1775 when he became personal chaplain to Commandant Rivera and ministered to the soldiers and their families at the Monterey Presidio. For a biographical account of Father Lasuén's life subsequent to his assignment to San Juan Capistrano Mission, and of his work following his appointment as Father Serra's successor in 1785, see Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California* (San Marino, 1969):136-142 (hereafter Geiger, *Missionaries*).
19. Father Gregorio Amurrió was born at Bastida, Spain, in 1744,



A romantic view of the ruins of Serra's sixth mission outpost, San Juan Capistrano, painted by Lemuel M. Wiles one hundred years after its founding in 1776.

and became a Franciscan, March 18, 1760. Having served at Mission Santa Gertrudis in Baja California from 1771-1773, Father Amurrió traveled overland to San Diego Mission where he remained until May, 1774. His next assignment was at Mission San Luis Obispo, where he received Father Serra's assignment as specified in this document. Thereafter, Father Amurrió journeyed south with Father Lasuén as far as San Gabriel Mission. For further data on Father Amurrió's life, see Geiger, *Missionaries*, 13-15, and Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano*, 212-213.

20. Especially in the early mission period, "California" was used to designate the present Baja California. Therefore, to prevent confusion, the translator has rendered Father Serra's "California" here as Baja California.
21. Although seemingly impossible to give an exact modern equivalent for the *tercio*, a unit of measure used frequently by Father Serra, see Manuel Carrera Stampa, "The Evolution of Weights and Measures in New Spain," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXIX (1949):2-24. It may be possible to approximate its capacity by referring to an analogous English measure, the *tierce*. As early as 1590, the *tierce* or *terce* was defined as being equal to one-third of a pipe, or forty-two gallons. As late as 1820 it referred to a cask or vessel holding that quantity, usually of wine, but also of various kinds of both dry and liquid provisions. See Ronald Edward Zupko, *A Dictionary of English Weights and Measures* (London, 1968), p. 170.
22. A dry-measure equivalent to about 1.6 bushels.
23. Gentiles were Indians who had not as yet embraced the Catholic Faith. While receiving instruction they were referred to as catechumens, and after baptism they were termed neophytes.
24. Originally, San Buenaventura was planned as the third mission, to serve the central coast between the missions of San Diego and Monterey. Owing to difficulties between the military unit and the Indians at the San Gabriel Mission, however, this plan was altered. While awaiting the foundation of San Buenaventura, the provisions and materials initially assigned to that mission were stored at San Gabriel. On this arrangement, see *Palou's Life*, 120, and Palou, *Historical Memoirs*, II:321-328.
25. The memorial mentioned here was Father Serra's thirty-two article report on the general conditions and chief needs of the missions, which he wrote on March 13, 1773, during his visit to Mexico City. Addressed to Viceroy Bucareli, this memorandum's sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth articles relate to the need of the missions for iron, forges, and blacksmiths. A complete text of the memorial appears in *Writings of Junípero Serra*, I: 294-327. Its composition and effects are discussed in *Palou's Life*, 140; Palou, *Historical Memoirs*, III:1-36; and Engelhardt, *The Missions*, II:100-133.
26. Father Miguel Campa y Cos, born in Durango, Mexico, in 1719, became a Franciscan on December 7, 1742. Having served in the Sierra Gorda Mission for over twenty years, he sailed to Baja California in 1768 and was placed in charge of Mission San Ignacio, a post he relinquished to the Dominicans in 1773 when he returned to Mexico City. As a ship's chaplain with the Heceta expedition to the northwestern waters, Campa kept a diary, and after landing at Monterey, he traveled with Heceta and Father Palou to San Francisco on their search for a possible mission site. Father Campa journeyed back to Mexico in 1775, and though he continued an active Franciscan career, appears never to have visited Alta California again. See *Palou's Life*, 148, and Palou, *Historic Memoirs*, I:1026.
27. Father Juan Prestamero, born in 1736, attended the Francisan noviciate at Vitoria together with Father Lasuén. Having sailed from Spain in 1759, he was ordained in Mexico City, but was sent back to Spain because of ill health. In 1773, he was again in the New World, arriving first at the San Diego Mission and then continuing north to San Luis Obispo where he was stationed as a supernumerary. In 1774, Prestamera left Alta California and ultimately disaffiliated himself from missionary work, as Geiger reports in *Missionaries*, 197-198.
28. Born in the Diocesis of Pamplona, Spain, Father Vicente Imás arrived at Mexico City in 1770 and was assigned to the missions of Baja California. He sailed from Loreto to San Blas with Martínez in 1772, but seems never to have served in Alta California. He was permitted to cease missionary activity in 1783. For further data on Father Imás, see *Palou's Life*, 134.
29. Just as the document began with a characteristic Serra salutation, it closes with his distinguishing signature flourish. See Geiger, *Missionaries*, title page.
30. *Palou's Life*, 158-159; Palou, *Historical Memoirs*, IV:58-60; and Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano*, 4-6.
31. *Palou's Life*, 177-180; Palou, *Historical Memoirs*, IV:151; and Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano*, 7.

Laurie Gordon and John Salkin

"EAT ME AND GROW YOUNG!"

Peel away the skin of a navel orange and, whatever your age, let the aroma and the juice take you back fifty or seventy years. Be reborn in a time when good health and happiness came freshly squeezed, in a place where the mind's eye might linger on California landscapes grooved and quilted by endless acres of citrus groves. The time and the land have changed since then, but the evocative images are preserved in an imaginative genre of commercial art, the orange crate label. Produced for over a half-century, box-end labels promoted memorable pictorial symbols of Southern California's new-found pride and promise.

Oranges and California, of course, have not always been synonymous in the national consciousness. None of the citrus species is indigenous to the New World, and in the years after 1849, the gold beckoning at the end of California's rainbow seemed to be in its northern stream beds, not in its dry southern soil. A few patient experiments planted imported and mission seedlings, however, and by the 1880's the gold-seekers strike had become a plot of agricultural land where gold grew on citrus trees, available for the planting and picking. Linked in this way to a national dream, orange crate labels encouraged the golden myth with fanciful, even audacious, symbols and brand names, epitomized perhaps in the orange-grower's claim, "Eat Me and Grow Young."

The label lithography and box-end imagery that popularized the fruit and helped sustain the promising romantic image of California began in 1877 when William Wolfskill experimentally shipped a car-load of carefully-packed oranges to St. Louis—a month-long journey never before attempted. Wolfskill's wooden crates containing the dusty but edible fruit were branded on the box-ends, "Wolfskill California Oranges," in a beginning gesture at advertising the first domestically-grown fruit.

Within ten years, every new grower packing shipments for the Midwest and East Coast also sought to establish the identity of his brand in the public eye. If at first it seemed that printed paper labels were a frivolous embellishment (if remunerative for the men who printed them), by the 1890's the brightly colored labels had become a marketing necessity. Most growers, usually small family operations, had taken their seedlings from the same Brazilian parent trees that Eliza, or her husband Luther, Tibbets carefully nurtured in Riverside, and labels became both a means of distinguishing one packer's shipment from his neighbor's, as well as a celebration of the citrus grower's success.

Ms. Gordon and Mr. Salkin, authors of *Orange Crate Art* (Warner Books, 1976), collect and sell original California label art. They live and work in San Francisco.

ORANGE CRATE ART IN THE GOLDEN STATE

Because the new California produce met with stiff competition from the well-established Spanish and Italian imports, an Americanization campaign was quickly launched wherein many labels incorporated patriotic themes, including Uncle Sam, the Liberty Bell, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln. Perhaps the most crucial application of label art, however, was the "selling" of California.

Labels were designed not only to identify the fruit grower's name and location, but to associate his brand with a romantic image of California living. Citrus growers needed more railroad lines, water for irrigation, and consumer recognition, and these developments were contingent upon a steady flow of new settlers to the sparsely populated southern portion of the state. Labels, they reasoned, were a convenient and functional form of publicity.

For the manufacture of the labels, local growers first looked to the expertise of the established San Francisco printers whose engraving techniques had been successfully employed for the opulently-designed stock certificates in high demand in the years after the Gold Rush. Many small printing companies had been nearly dormant since that time, and they eagerly revived their operations to produce labels.

Perhaps the most ambitious of these printers was Max Schmidt, a young German immigrant whose relatives had mailed him the directions for stone lithography which had originated in Austria. Schmidt had been producing small labels for wine merchants, and he rose to the new demand by expanding the orange crate label to the full 10 x 11" box-end size. Working closely with his salesman-and-artist team, Schmidt published a booklet of "stock label" designs printed without grower names. Included were samples of the rich imagery that soon became popular on the flamboyant crate labels: beautiful women, flowers, and scenery.

Typically, a company's sales force traveled into the small towns such as Pasadena, Riverside, Pomona, Santa Ana, San Bernardino, and Santa Paula which seemed to spring up wherever an orange-tree seedling was planted. Meeting the grower in the sometimes remote fields, the men improvised new designs by using the stock label books and adding cut-out "vignettes" such as bunches of voluptuous fruit, a snapshot of the grower's wife, or a sketch aggrandizing the grower's home. The "scissormen," as they became known, created paper symbols of the pride and vanity that perpetuated the California Dream and come down to us today in the richly colored labels.

By 1902, when Schmidt merged with Galloway and Dickman-Jones to form the Mutual Litho Company, the firm was able to supply hundreds of growers with some of the most intricate commercial labels ever to be

produced. By blending a few selected ink colors, sixty separate colors with "secret formulas" were created for use on painstakingly hand-stippled limestone printing blocks, and bronze metallic inks and varnishes added a golden glow to the labels. Most designs by the now-anonymous artists were ornate, delicate, and posterlike, stylistically inspired by French artists like Alphonse Mucha and exploring every romantic notion of California life.

While the earliest orange crate labels were personal statements—homespun, family-oriented, and feminine in their appeal—the emergence of new lithography houses in Los Angeles after 1910 introduced a new approach to brand-naming and label art. Accordingly, the old labels were repeatedly redrawn and modernized, as simplified, high-speed printing techniques called for updated images. Cars, planes, women, and California scenes were revamped.

The California Fruit Growers Exchange, a cooperative organization formed in 1893 that shipped and marketed fruit for thousands of growers, developed the Sunkist logo and suggested the use of themes in labels. Exchange advertising-department bulletins, pamphlets, and studies urged their affiliates to use bolder images and to relinquish the naive look of the old "family" brands. Recognizing the impact of striking label art, they increased their use (and added to the lithographer's coffers) by establishing three separate brand names for each grower which signified the various grades of fruit.

By the late 1920's and early 1930's art director Archie Vasquez at Western Lithograph in Los Angeles brought label design to a peak of stylization. Vasquez employed art deco lines and more vivid and unique coloration to increase "readability and recognition," vital advertising factors. His experimentation with airbrush shading coincided with the pioneering "billboard" approach used by art directors like San Francisco's Othello Michetti. Soon the streamlined and dramatic billboard lettering edged out the allegorical renderings of the early labels, for it drew attention to the lettering of the catchy brand name rather than focusing the eye on pleasant but forgettable illustration elements.

In the late 1930's and early 1940's the combination of photography and lithography in label art heralded a new design era. Suddenly, however, World War II rationing and material shortages necessitated the substitution of the cardboard box for the wooden crate, the allocation of metal for airplanes rather than printing plates, and the replacement of the colorful label with an efficient but dull two-color stamp.

After the war fifty years of "selling California" resulted in the massive redevelopment of the southland never anticipated in the early years of the



promotion of "orange gold." Accordingly, optimistic slogans such as "Oranges for Health, California for Wealth" and the labels that had helped lure thousands of settlers to the West were quietly retired. The fantasy of the fruited plain transformed into a suburban vision, and new housing spread across the fields that were once covered with citrus. As ousted growers moved north and inland, thousands of labels were abandoned in hundreds of packing houses throughout the state.

At the turn of the century, crate labels had been collected by nostalgic growers and children who swapped them like baseball cards. Today, they are collectable again. Box-end label art has become important source material for commercial designers who learn from the anonymous artists' integration of design, innovative lettering, and the art of lithography. Historians, citrus affiliates, students, and artists have begun building collections of the myriad brand labels being rediscovered.

The attention that labels now receive is well deserved. The historic box-end advertising provides a uniquely indigenous catalogue of California imagery and business enterprise.

Swift cross-continental transportation had been recognized as the key to successful marketing of citrus fruits since William Wolfskill's "Orange Car" railroad experiment in 1877, and the train was the single most important asset to growers in opening new markets in the East and Midwest. The Flyer brand label glorifies this critical association between boxcar shipping and box-end marking. Images of ships, trains, and aeroplanes conveyed the essence of modernity, freshness, and speed that characterized the industry.




Parachute
BRAND
CALIFORNIA
ORANGES
H.JEVNE CO.
FOREIGN TRADE DIVISION
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
PRODUCT of U.S.A.


BEST QUALITY
GRAPEFRUIT
PACIFIC
EXPORTER
BRAND
SUNSET PRODUCE CO.
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
U.S.A.
The Golden Gate
of San Francisco
PRODUCE OF U.S.A.


AIRSHIP
Brand
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.
Sunkist
GROWN AND PACKED BY
FILLMORE CITRUS ASSOCIATION
FILLMORE
VENTURA CO., CALIFORNIA


WINDERMERE
BRAND
WINDERMERE RANCH
Sunkist
GROWN ON
Mc NALLY RANCH
LA MIRADA, CALIF.

To keep designs current, brand labels such as Airship were regularly redrawn to portray the most modern plane of the day. Similarly, while the 1910 version of Windermere Ranch features a horse-drawn cart, the 1920's reworked label substituted a black roadster for the old-fashioned carriage. On a variant transportation theme, Canal brand pays tribute to the opening of the Panama Canal, a long-anticipated and important event for West Coast commerce which shortened the many months required for the shipments of goods around Cape Horn.



Like the popular postcards of 1910 that read, "I will eat oranges for you and you may throw snowballs for me," designs on labels perpetuated the alluring fantasy of an always green and sunny California. Images of lush groves and beautiful buildings were calculated to whet the appetites of potential citrus-belt settlers from the East.

Often the labels' settings were real, like the new public library in the Miss Los Angeles design or tree-lined Victoria Avenue. Sometimes they were more fanciful, like the splendor of Arden Villa.

Orange culture began with the tart, seedy fruit planted by the mission fathers, and many labels pay tribute to these Spanish origins. While the 1915 version of the Silver Moon label shows the San Fernando Valley to be empty and serene, the redesign circa 1930 includes three symbols of modernization: a car parked in front of the mission, city lights at the horizon line, and an airplane crossing before the full moon.



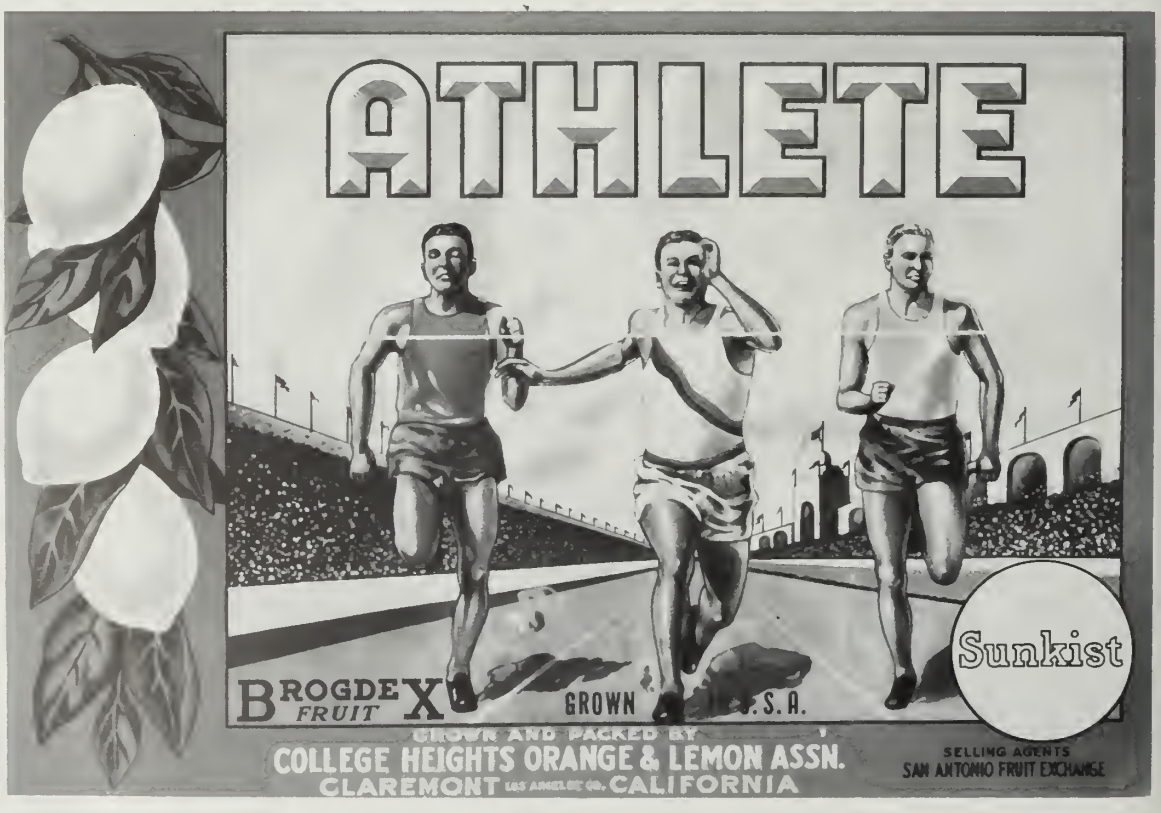

AVENUE
BRAND
GROWN AND PACKED BY
VICTORIA AVENUE CITRUS ASS'N
RIVERSIDE, RIVERSIDE CO., CAL.


SILVER MOON
SAN FERNANDO HEIGHTS LEMON CO.
SAN FERNANDO, CAL.


VALENCIAS
ARDEN VILLA
VILLA PARK ORCHARDS ASSN.
VILLA PARK
CALIFORNIA.


SILVER MOON
Sunkist
SAN FERNANDO HEIGHTS LEMON ASSN.
SAN FERNANDO, CALIFORNIA


TRADE MARK REGISTERED
Basketball
BRAND
GROWN IN U.S.A.
BROGDEX FRUIT
GROWN IN U.S.A.
COLLEGE HEIGHTS ORANGE & LEMON ASS'N.
CLAREMONT LOS ANGELES CO. CALIFORNIA
SELLING AGENTS
SAN ANTONIO FRUIT EXCHANGE


ATHLETE
BROGDEX FRUIT
GROWN
U.S.A.
Sunkist
GROWN AND PACKED BY
COLLEGE HEIGHTS ORANGE & LEMON ASSN.
CLAREMONT CALIFORNIA
SELLING AGENTS
SAN ANTONIO FRUIT EXCHANGE

Brand names served two functions. Like advertising slogans, they were catchy and colorful, and they also contained a private coding of quality. Through a thematic group like the athletic series used by the College Heights Association of Claremont, growers were able to identify three grades of fruit: fancy, choice, and good. A system created by the California Fruit Growers Exchange, it was eagerly promoted by the lithography houses for its increased demands for label designs. While the casual shopper at a local grocery store seldom realized the difference because the labels were equally elaborate, the auction jobber buying massive quantities of crates could quickly refer to a pocket-sized reference book published by the cooperatives to select his best buys.



The citrus-industry boom was frequently called "the second gold rush" and crate labels often utilized the imagery. Prospectors panning for gold depicted the parallels, and the Mazuma brand featured an Indian term for money. Countless other brands alluded to the gold theme, including Golden Gate, Golden Sceptre, Golden Need, Gold Buckle, Golden Treat, Golden Orange, Golden Cross, and Golden Rule.




MAZUMA
STEWART
TRADE MARK
FRUIT Co.
CALIFORNIA


BIG HIT
BRAND
PACKED BY
VENTURA CITRUS ASSOCIATION
VENTURA COUNTY
CALIFORNIA


ORANGE QUEEN
BRAND
AMERICAN
FRUIT
GROWERS INC.
LOS ANGELES
CALIFORNIA


ECONOMY
BRAND
GROWN ON THE
Mc NALLY RANCH
LA MIRADA, CALIF.
CALIFORNIA
Red Ball
GROWN IN U. S. A.



The earliest crate labels were designed with the housewife in mind, often appealing to a feminine and domestic outlook. Pictures of happy children, bowls of fruit on lace tablecloths, and floral scenes were especially prevalent at the turn of the century.

In 1918, however, the California Fruit Growers Exchange conducted a study which led to a new marketing awareness. They discovered, to their dismay, that only .5 per cent of the women interviewed could recall the brand name of an orange, and they concluded, "If the label is to catch anyone's pride or vanity, it should be the buyer, the jobber in the East." Accordingly, throughout the late 1920's and 1930's, women—already popular label symbols—became increasingly seductive in image in an obvious play to attract male buyers at East Coast auctions.

Another label theme developed to appeal especially to the masculine fantasy of auction jobbers was the wild west. Although peaceful California Indians had lived on much of the fertile land being developed for citrus growing, label designers favored the war whoop and other shoot-out commercial distillations of the westward experience. Usually the labels included stereotypical Indian images and phrases like "heap good" or "o-how-good," but one label depicting an Indian maiden carrying a basket is correctly titled, "American Girl."




REDSKIN BRAND
REDSKIN
ORANGES
PACKED BY
RIALTO ORANGE CO. RIALTO, SAN BERNARDINO CO. CAL.


BRONCO
PACKED BY
REDLANDS FOOTHILL GROVES
REDLANDS, CALIFORNIA


VALENCIAS
STALWART
BRAND
GROWN AND PACKED BY
SANTA PAULA
ORANGE ASSN.
SANTA PAULA, VENTURA CO.
CALIFORNIA


FEATURE
BRAND
Sunkist
PRODUCE OF U.S.A.
GROWN & PACKED BY
SUNLAND PACKING
HOUSE COMPANY
PORTERVILLE, TULARE CO.
CALIFORNIA


MERIT
BROGDEX
ORANGES

The billboard style of design incorporated graphic elements of speed and perspective that rendered the labels instantly readable. Introduced in the late 1930's and early 1940's, it was the last design phase before orange-crate labeling was discontinued. While some might lament the evolution of the stark design that superseded the earlier sumptuous and delicate illustrations, the boldly slanting and enlarged lettering was much more easily remembered than the earlier subtle stone lithography and soft images. Orange crate labels—commercial art—had come of age. □

The orange crate labels are in the authors' collection.



REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Lynn Bonfield Donovan

Day-by-DayRecords: Diaries from the CHS Library *Part II*

The following annotated bibliography is the second listing in the *Quarterly* of diaries held by the Library of the California Historical Society. The first, appearing in the Winter 1975 issue, included fifty diaries, and a third future list will complete the record. Of the fifty diaries annotated below, twenty-five are originals, and the remainder are copies of originals held in other libraries or in private hands. While the first listing emphasized diaries—twenty-four in number—written on the long overland journey from the East to California, only ten overland accounts appear here. The main emphasis in this second bibliography is on twenty-six of the forty-nine journals in the collection documenting the arduous sea voyage to California.

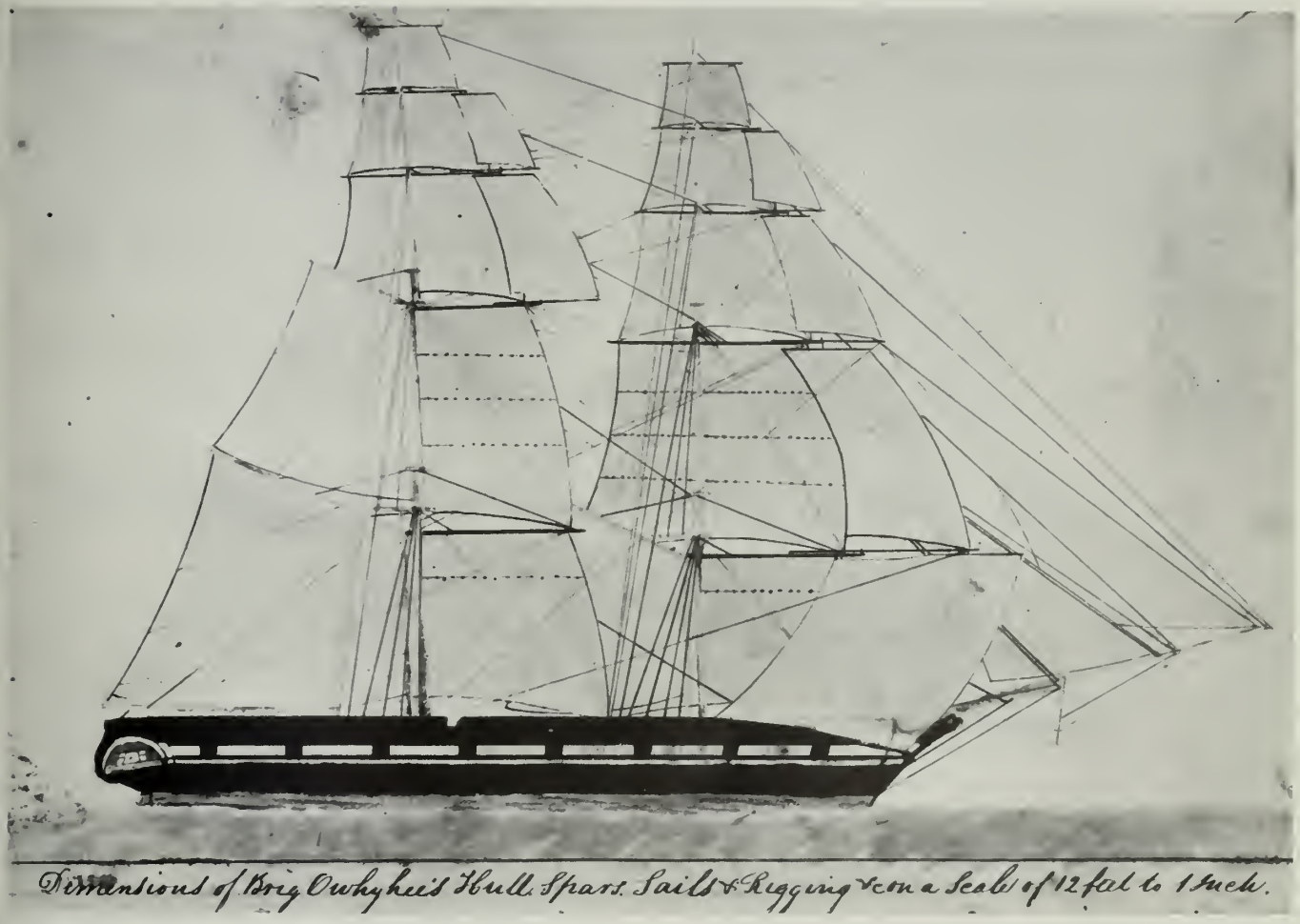
Diaries, or day-by-day records written shortly after events occurred, frequently document out-of-the-ordinary periods of the diarists' lives, and individuals who found themselves in frontier California before the Gold Rush often took up diaries to express and preserve their thoughts, actions, and experiences. One member of Stevenson's Regiment of New York Volunteers, John McHenry Hollingsworth, appeared in the first listing, and two more members, Joshua S. Vincent and Kimball Hale Dimmick, are noted here. Fur-trading adventurer John Dominis describes his life between 1827 and 1830, and the accounts of whalers Philip G. Bailey and Richard M. Sherman begin in 1844. All three sailed to the Sandwich Islands.

The urge to keep a diary affected the educated and barely literate, the wealthy and poor, and the young and old, and the occupation most often mentioned in this list after sailor or crewman is physician. Dr. Samuel W. Brown treats the shipboard ill on his voyage to the West, while Dr. Dean J. Locke administers on an overland journey, indicating incidentally that medical doctors also caught gold fever. On the other hand, a rural Nevada County doctor, Noble Martin, calls on the sick only as a sideline to his main employment in a lumber mill. The wife of eye doctor Jack F. Dickson describes in detail the illnesses which plagued most frontier households, and the diary of a dentist, Dr. Charles Bates, includes specific instructions on frontier dental techniques.

Six diaries in this listing contain entries spanning more

Ms. Donovan is CHS manuscript librarian

From 1827 to 1830 Owyhee *captain John Dominis (or, possibly, the first mate) logged events of three Pacific voyages and sketched to scale the brig's hull, spars, sails, and riggings.*



than five years. George Kellogg documents his life from age nineteen to ninety, covering events in the years 1847-1918. Joseph Lamson logs events of his 1852 sea voyage and his subsequent wanderings in Northern California and Oregon. Nelson Crocker Hawks, printer and typefounder, describes his work in Wisconsin and, after 1874, in California. Housewife Lillian Dickson jots entries over the years 1901 to 1928, noting the 1906 earthquake and fire and her first voting registration in 1920. Teenage diarists in the listing include Sam Partridge, an Oakland High School student in 1879; Rachael Enloe, who describes a summer hunting trip in 1870; and Emma Corlies, who journeyed overland by train in 1877.

The variety of diarists represented in the collection illustrates that many kinds and classes of people were attracted to making daily record of their activities. Businessman Frank W. Page, inventor Thomas Varney, clubwoman Maria L. Varney, and antiquarian bookseller Epes Ellery—all San Franciscans—kept regular diaries, and the spectrum of their observations enables researchers to build a rich perspective on the social, cultural, and business life of the city in the 1850's.

To the eleven women's diaries included in the 1975 bibliography, this listing adds eight more accounts. Two women traveled West to join men, one her father and one her husband after a three-year separation. Four women diarists led

traditional lives as housewives, although Georgiana Bruce Kirby had previously been a prison warden with Eliza Farnham and Julia S. Twist had worked as a photographer in Wisconsin to earn the fare for the trip to the West.

The entries below are organized in the following manner: listed first are the known general facts, such as name, vital dates, place of birth, place of residence if different from birth and occupation(s). The next section identifies the diary's specific characteristics, *i.e.*, its time span and approximate number of pages. (The existence of the original text is assumed unless otherwise noted.) The third section of the listing describes the contents of the diary and analyzes the diary's readability and research value. Finally, the bibliography includes information about the publication of the diary or any portion of it.

More extensive information about diaries listed in the bibliography is available through the diary index forms filed in the Library. Researched by CHS staff members, docents, Oberlin College intern students, and San Francisco State University students enrolled in a course in archives and research, these forms are complete descriptive guides which supply subject headings and name entries. Together, the bibliography and the diary index forms facilitate the use of the manuscripts by fully describing their contents.

A final word of appreciation is offered to the many donors whose gifts have made the Library's diary collection valuable for research and to James deT. Abajian who contributed helpful information to the listing below. Reprints of Parts I and II of the diary listing may be purchased from the Library.

ANONYMOUS, member of an overland journey party to California.

Typed copy of travel diary, May-September 1852, with some 1857 entries, 16 pages.

Overland journey from St. Joseph, Missouri to Pleasant Valley, California; focus on hardships of the five-month journey to Virginia City, weather and travel conditions, encounters with Indians, description of territory and settlements, names of rivers and mountains, prices of foodstuffs; readable if mundane account of an eastern adventurer.

ANONYMOUS, of Rhode Island; passenger on *Reindeer* (ves.)

Travel diary, May-July 1853, 44 pages.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco via Cape Horn; attention to temperature and barometric readings, weather, sunsets and rainbows at sea; interesting observations on nautical life.

> *"Nothing in sight but the Heavens and old sun with his smiling deceitful face. If the heavens [are] the emblem of truth, so is the sea the prototype of all that is false, deceitful, and treacherous."*
>
> *Anonymous, Logbook of the* Reindeer, *1833*

ANONYMOUS, Alameda resident.

Diary, November 1858-January 1859, 8 pages.

Diarist traveled from New York to China before settling at an Alameda boarding house where her husband, who worked in San Francisco, visited her; describes routine days reading novels, sewing and crocheting, making calls, and taking drives with another woman boarder; clearly written but uneventful.

BAILEY, Philip G.; crewman on whaling ship.

Photostat of travel diary, November 3, 1844-April 9, 1845, 24 pages.

Sea voyage aboard *George Champlin* from Newport, Rhode Island, to Sandwich Islands via Cape Horn; brief descriptions of sailing conditions, chores, whale chases; entries repetitive.

BATES, Charles (1852-?), of Brazil and California; dentist.

Travel and daily diary, September 1873-May 1881, 153 pages.

Sea voyage from Rio de Janeiro to San Francisco aboard the *Itasca* with his mother; enthusiastic observer of ship's passage, winds, weather, shipboard routines; detailed description of dental techniques, impressions of San Francisco after an eight year absence, especially the increase in Chinese inhabitants, living in Berkeley; highly readable.

BRADLEY, H. S. (1829-?), of Massachusetts.

Travel diary, November 1849-May 1850, 166 pages.

Log book of *Orion* on passage from Boston to San Francisco with comments on weather, winds and sails, murder on ship; list of passengers and crew and residences prior to journey; sea chanties, poetry; factual account.

BROOKES, Samuel Marsden (1816-1892), b. London, artist.

Diary, 1871, 60 pages.

Brief and scattered entries of cash accounts, notes on sales

and commissions for paintings and portraits, inventory of art works in 1874; interesting account of successful artist.

BROWN, Dr. Samuel W. (1802-1862), of Hartford, Connecticut; physician.

Travel diary, April 1849-October 1850, 181 pages.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn; crew and passengers were members of Frémont Mining and Trading Co., of which Brown was chairman of the board; detailed description of shipboard life, disciplining of crew members, flora and fauna, weather, 49ers in Brazil; strong moral tone to entries. Diary accompanied by letters to family and friends in Connecticut.

CARROLL, Katharine R., b. New York.

Diary, January-June 1934, 100 pages.

Daily events of socially-active San Francisco woman; describes meetings of many organizations, including California Historical Society, California Literary Society, California Writers Club; gossipy account.

CARSON, William McKendree, of Maryland.

Photostat of typed transcription of travel diary, January-July 1849, 18 pages, and photostat of handwritten travel diary, November 1870, 7 pages.

1849 sea voyage of Argonauts aboard the *Jane Parker* sailing from Baltimore to San Francisco via Cape Horn; descriptions of birds, fish, sea life, weather conditions and daily activities of passengers.

1870 diary details return journey to New York via Panama with wife, six children, and Chinese cook; fascinating descriptive style with scientific interest in nature.

COLEMAN, George P.; seaman.

Photostat copy of travel diary, March-July 1849, 36 pages.

Sea voyage from New Bedford to San Francisco via Cape Horn aboard the *Russell* accompanied by fifty-five men, some members of the Nantucket Mining Company; concerned with weather, fishing and food; two exciting descriptions of fishing adventures; straightforward style.

CORLIES, Emma, of Poughkeepsie, New York.

Typed copy of travel diary, September 1877, 5 pages.

Train journey to San Francisco from Poughkeepsie to meet father, accompanied by sister and black maid; anxiety over friends and family left behind; describes travel acquaintances, scenery, inconveniences, and tourist gimmicks; sensitive young woman's style.

> *"It always puts me in good spirits to gallop up the hills and view the wild mountain scenery, so on my return after taking in the clothes and all the wood that we chopped as the clouds looked ominous, I concluded that today for the first time in my life I would commence a journal. I think that perhaps I may die and my babe live, in which case it would be pleasant for the latter to have some record of my external and spiritual life during these important months; or should I survive this great trial of my physical powers and live to see my child grow up it will be interesting to me to see how far and in what manner my present and succeeding states of mind may have had influence in forming the character and consequently the external appearance of my child."*
>
> *Georgianna Bruce Kirby diary, December 14, 1852*

DICKSON, Lillian M. (1872-?); housewife.

Diaries, 1901-1928, 12 volumes.

Wife of eye doctor Jack F. Dickson who maintained practice and home in Portland, Oregon, as well as San Francisco; describes marriage, relationship with mother, household tasks, social life, health problems including discovery of tumor on uterus, 1906 earthquake and fire, learning to drive the Packard, registering to vote in 1920; scant emotional insight.

DIMMICK, Kimball Hale, of New York; U.S. Army Officer.

Photostat and typed transcription of diary, April-October 1848, 29 pages.

Young ordnance officer serving with the New York Volunteers at the San Francisco Presidio describes passage of ships, prices of food and books, news of Mexican War and president's possible impeachment, desertion of men to mine for gold, court martials and floggings for desertion, setting up trading business near Sutter's Fort; matter-of-fact account.

DOMINIS, John (1803-1846); ship's captain.

Travel diaries, 1827-1830, 3 volumes, 200 pages.

Logs of three voyages of the *Owyhee* sailing between Boston, Canton, the Sandwich Islands, and the northwest coast of America, possibly by the first mate rather than Dominis; concerned with weather reports, employment of the crew on board ship and trade goods (skins traded with Indians for muskets). The accompanying instructions of the agent from Bryant, Sturgis & Company contain more details than the logs; repetitive.

EASTIN, Thomas N., member of overland journey party.

Photostat of travel diary, May-August 1849, 195 pages.

Overland journey from Henderson, Kentucky, to California via Independence, Missouri, and the Santa Fe Trail; interesting for detailed descriptions of route.

"Farewell New York with your dirty streets, insolent porters, miserable beggars and dispicable steamboat agents. A home on the broad Atlantic is far preferable to a days sojourn in your midst.

The passengers are mostly in high glee. Occasionally one retires to the farthest corner of the cabin, looking sad and discousolate, and an oft repeated sigh expresses the sentiment of the heart. At 5 the gong sounded for supper, a general rush is made for the table, all have good appetites having had no dinner. The one that has the best teeth, largest month, and the longest arm stands the best chance. Well, eat your fill, another day may find you with empty stomachs, and no desire to replenish them. Our room contains three berths and I select the upper one as my landing place, always prefering to live on the top shelf."

Julia S. Peck Twist diary, February 1, 1861

ELLERY, Epes (1830-1914), b. Gloucester, Mass.; book dealer.

Travel diary, August-October 1852, 52 pages.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn; occasional colorful descriptions of marine life. Diarist, early antiquarian book seller in California, may have bound the handsome volume. Included are four pages of personal and professional notes describing formula for edge gilding, paper coloring, and acids for bookbinding; diary is part of larger manuscript collection which includes receipts and invoices, 1853-1884.

ENLOE, Rachael (1853-?) b. Jackson, California; teenager.

Typed copy of diary, August-September 1870, 3 pages.

Written by sixteen-year-old on hunting trip while she kept camp for brothers and friend and occasionally carried a gun; description of moving camp, preparation of food and its dwindling supply, and the young men's hunting prowess; uncomplaining and enthusiastic account.

FERRELL, Robert N. (1820-1865) b. Greenbush, New York; gold miner.

Photostat and typed transcription of travel diary, June-December 1849, 32 pages.

Sea voyage of *Arkansas* from New York to San Francisco via Cape Horn; wildlife, places visited, "Law at See," people and events; straightforward narrative of shipboard life.

HAWKS, Nelson Crocker (1840-1929) b. Milwaukee; d. Alameda; printer, typefounder, developer of American print system.

Diaries, January 1, 1855-February 1897, 15 volumes.

Begun at Delafield, Wisconsin, 1855, and continued to March 25, 1874, when Hawks moved to San Francisco; thorough descriptions of personal affairs and business as printer, typefounder, and dealer in printers' supplies in Wisconsin and in California where he represented Marder, Luse and Co., Chicago typefounders. In San Francisco Hawks was proprietor of the Pacific States Type Foundry. A five-page account details his visit to Chicago immediately following the 1871 fire. Some financial records included.

HAYES, W. E., of Boston; gold miner.

Typed copy of travel diary, January-May 1850, 41 pages.

Sea voyage from Boston to San Francisco via Cape Horn; lengthy description of Rio de Janeiro and Valparaiso; food and weather; detailed, moderately interesting reading.

KELLOGG, George J. (1828-1910) b. Cisero, New York; teacher, gold miner, horticulturist.

Microfilm copy of diaries, 1847-1910, 11 volumes on 2 reels.

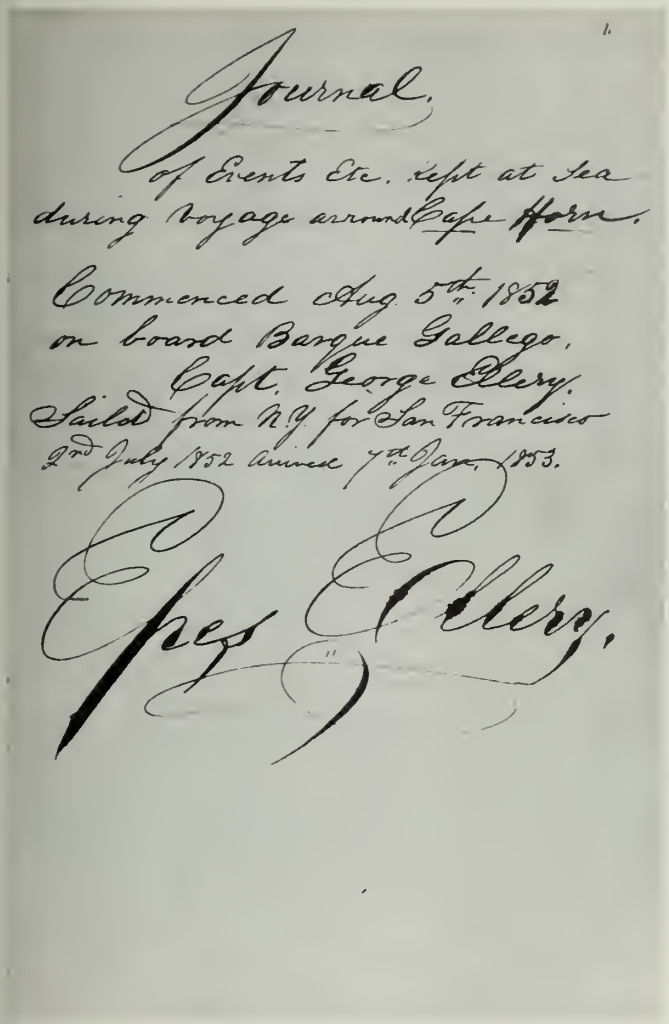
Diaries span Kellogg's life from age nineteen to ninety; teaching school in Wisconsin, traveling overland to California, panning for gold, 1849 to 1852; describes Indians, weather, animals, traveling mishaps. Returns to Wisconsin in 1852, establishes a nursery. Later diaries deal with business as well as social calls, religion, and daily activities; early years especially interesting. Diaries accompanied by four volumes of record books, also on film.

KIRBY, Georgiana Bruce (1818-1887) b. Bristol, England; author, matron at Sing Sing Prison, farmer.

Typed copy of diary, December 1852-November 1853, 25 pages.

Describes thoughts while living with husband on isolated ranch near Santa Cruz, awaiting birth of first child and concern with mental and emotional effect on child; interesting comments on farm life, neighbors, national leaders, literature, religion, and slavery. Kirby located in Santa Cruz to join Eliza Farnham with whom she worked as an assistant warden at Sing Sing women's prison. Her book *Years of Experience* (1886) describes her life before Santa Cruz.

Published: Santa Cruz *Riptide*, September 30, 1948, with some deletions.


Journal.

of Events Etc. kept at Sea during voyage around Cape Horn.

Commenced Aug. 5th. 1852 on board Barque Gallego. Capt. George Ellery. Sailed from N.Y. for San Francisco 2nd July 1852 arrived 7th Jan. 1853.

Epes Ellery.

LAMSON, Joseph (or James), (1825-?).

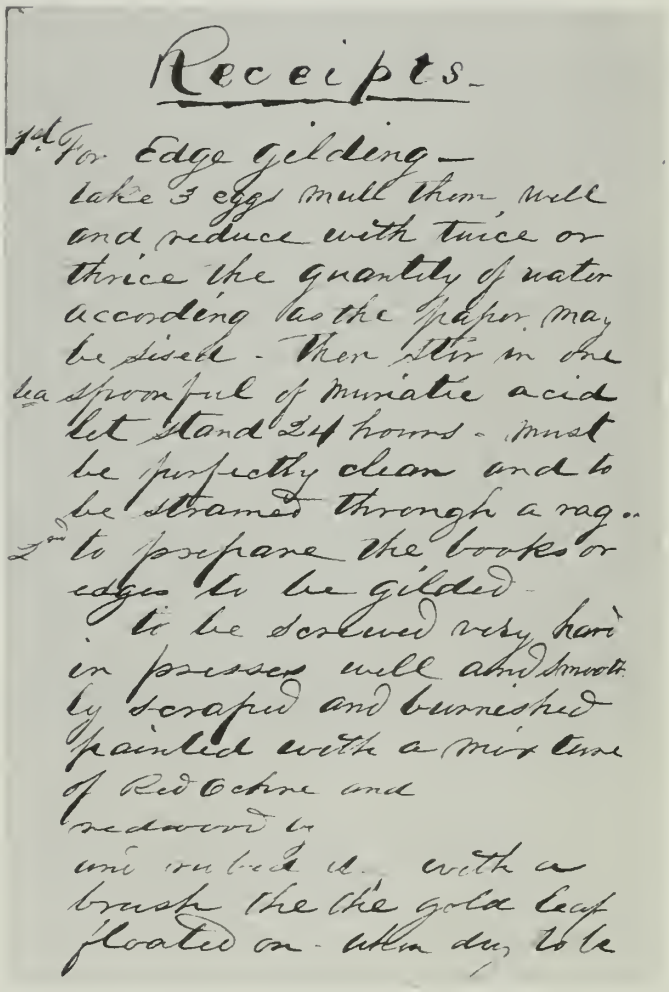
Travel diaries, 1852-1861, 888 pages, 2 volumes.

Sea voyage from Maine around Cape Horn to San Francisco on the *James W. Paige*; logging, mining for gold, traveling on river steamers and on foot in Northern California and Oregon, much of the time as an itinerant portrait painter; detailed description of geography, mining industry, politics, personalities, flora and fauna; exceptionally specific and well written. An additional volume of letters and fifty-one drawings is in the collection.

LEWIS, Edward M. (18??-1884); carriage maker, amateur minstrel.

Travel diary, June-November 1865, 24 pages.

Overland journey on horseback from New York to Salt Lake City; detailed account of overnight lodgings at telegraph stations along the way, food and drink, treatment of eye wound; three-page description of Salt Lake City; highly readable account.


Receipts.

1st For Edge gilding—
take 3 eggs mull them well and reduce with twice or thrice the quantity of water according as the paper may be sized. Then stir in one tea spoonful of muriatic acid let stand 24 hours. must be perfectly clean and to be strained through a rag..

2nd to prepare the books or edges to be gilded
to be screwed very hard in presses well and smooth by scraped and burnished painted with a mixture of Red Ochre and
[illegible] with a brush the the gold leaf floated on. [illegible]

Formulas or "receipts" for gilding and coloring the edges of book pages were recorded in the 1852-53 journal of antiquarian bookseller Epes Ellery.

Itinerant artist J. Lamson sketched scenes on his travels, including "Onion Valley and Pilot Peak, Plumas County, 1857" where 'One-eyed Moore discovered rich diggings."

"Parted with mother! The paternal roof; the graves of the dear departed. The scenes & friends of childhood & youth: no event of my life can leave a more vivid picture! Dying in full health & strength, to the early association of life, to my home, to my mother! Oh God I thank thee that we can die but once to any attachments of the heart! But I am taking my dearly loved child from all her endeared associations, dragging her from relations & acquaintances which she may never meet again. Oh, double responsibility to my lacerated heart!"

Maria L.Varney diary, May 6, 1852

"Arrived in San Francisco. Oh terribly happy day. All the questions relating to our long journey and safe arrival are settled! & once more after more than 3 long years of separation I again meet my worthy & much loved husband, & have the inestimable happiness to present our most noble & beautiful daughter, to her anxious & enquiring father. & we are all reunited in our own happy home: what more can we ask? what more can we wish?"

Maria L.Varney diary, June 16, 1852

LOCKE, Dr. Dean J. (1823-1887) b. New Hampshire; medical doctor.

Typed copy of travel diary, April 1849-April 1851, 12 pages.

Overland journey from Boston to California via Buffalo, Sandusky, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Independence; notes on high cost of supplies, illnesses, an accidental shooting; matter-of-fact account.

LOGAN, John Quincy Adams (1829-?), of Pennsylvania; poet.

Typed copy of travel diary, January 1852-1854, 13 pages.

Sea voyage from New York through the Isthmus of Panama to San Francisco in 1852; a few California entries about diggings on the American River; sterile unreflective account of passage, Mexicans, scenery. Includes diarist's poems.

LYMAN, Chester Smith (1814-1890) b. Manchester, Connecticut; minister, professor of science at Yale University.

Travel and daily diary, 1845-1854, 14 volumes. Typed transcription at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.

Round-trip sea voyage from New York to Sandwich Islands, with description of Islands, San Francisco, and San Jose; describes construction of a self-regulating rain gauge in Hilo, teaching at Royal School in Honolulu, surveying land between San Francisco and San Jose, mining for gold near Sutter's Fort; record of scenes and people and scientific interests; very descriptive, observant account.

Published: *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands*, 1845-1850 (Yale University Press, 1924) and excerpted in *California Historical Quarterly*, 11:180-202.

MCBRIDE, J. C. (1832-?) b. McBride's Mills, North Carolina; miner, explorer.

Typed copy of travel and daily diary, May 1850-April 1854, 8 pages.

Overland journey from Missouri to gold diggings in California; topography, distances, weather, Indians, French traders,and hardships of four-month trip; sailed the California coast and return to mining; enthusiastic adventurer's account.

MANN, Henry Rice (1814-1852) of Albion, Michigan.

Incomplete typed copy of travel diary, May-September 1849, 25 pages.

Overland journey from Missouri to Sacramento via Oregon Trail; scenery, landmarks, vegetation, road and weather conditions, distance traveled, Snake Indians, people encountered, survival concerns; readable. Includes personal account written to family about brief attempt to mine gold and early days in Sacramento.

MARTIN, Dr. Noble (1820-1896) of Liberty Hall, Nevada County; medical doctor, justice of the peace, sawyer.

Diary, January 1857-March 1858; accounting figures continue through May 1859, 142 pages.

Activities include occasional sick calls, work in lumber mill, construction of cabin; entertainments such as the circus; sketchy and often illegible record.

MILNER, Joseph (1827-1894) b. Yorkshire, England; druggist, gold miner.

Photostat of typed copy of travel and daily diary, March 1849-July 1854, 32 pages.

Overland journey from Tennessee to Sacramento; places, distances, weather conditions; mining along the American and Yuba rivers and with the Mountain Fluming Co. and Langton & Co., San Francisco; return trip to the East via the Isthmus of Panama; mentions traveling with Kit Carson and seeing "Wild Cat," chief of the Seminole Indians.



NORTON, Erastus Harmon (1827-1895) b. Byron, New York; miner.

Typed copy of travel and daily diary, March 1852-March 1854, 65 pages.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco via Cape Horn; details five months' hardships aboard ship; exacting record of setting up in California gold fields and adapting to become a shrewd and cautious businessman, building reservoirs and making tools; judgmental and self-righteous tone, but vivid imagery.

PAGE, Frank (or Francis) W., of San Francisco; banker.

Diary, July-September 1855, 45 pages.

Business and social life of prominent San Francisco banker during California's financial panic of 1855; legal struggle to save Page, Bacon & Co.; frequent mention of Henry H. Haight, partner, whom Page blames for company's troubles; eloquent, fascinating, concise account. Diary accompanied by letters and legal documents, 1851-1857.

PARTRIDGE, Sam C. (1865-1890); Oakland High School student.

Diary, January-May 1879, 150 pages.

Tells of friends and activities, construction of bows and arrows, purchases and costs, Oakland election in March and ratification of California constitution in May; factual account. Diary also includes a nine-page description of a trip to Yosemite in 1883.

PORTER, David Dixon (1814-?); U.S. Naval officer.

Travel diary, February-May 1849.

Routine report of daily conditions aboard the *Panama*, a mail ship owned by Pacific Mail Steamship Company, sailing between New York and San Francisco; emphasizes weather, arrivals, and departures from ports, comments on the watch; well written but dull.

RICHARDSON, Joel, of Maine.

Typed copy of travel diary, November 1849-April 1850, 18 pages.

Sea voyage on *Cantero* from Bangor, Maine, to San Francisco via Cape Horn; emphasis on daily weather conditions and ship's course; includes poem written by first mate, verse from an American graveyard in Valparaiso, and complete list of crew, passengers, and residences prior to journey; dry account.

Inventor Thomas Varney kept journals of his experiments with explosives; his wife Maria focused on her emotional life and social-reform concerns.



RISTVEDT, Peder P., of Norway; sailor.

Photostat and microfilm copies of travel diary, April 15-September 4, 1901, 160 pages.

Written in Norwegian, journal covers a voyage on the ship *Gjoa* to test her sea worthiness and to make oceanographic experiments. In 1907 the *Gjoa* discovered the Northwest Passage with Ristvedt as one of the five Norwegian crewmembers.

SHERMAN, Richard Mitchell (1813-1901), of Newport, Rhode Island; whaler, ship clerk.

Photostat of travel diary, November 1844-May 1848, 75 pages.

Sea voyage aboard *George Champlin* from Newport to Sandwich Islands to northwest coast of America and back to Owhyee, November 2, 1844-January 14, 1846; a second voyage on *Emphrainoa* bound for California, January 15, 1846-May 10, 1848. Good descriptions of whale chases; weather; crew's chores; activities in port; interaction between crew members; diarist a lonely, religious, introspective man who frequently mused on his own and others' characters. Diary accompanied by personal and business papers, 1849-1864.

TATE, James (1795-1849), of Kentucky, Missouri.

Typed copy of travel diary, April-October 1849, 28 pages.

Overland journey from St. Joseph, Missouri, to "famed land of gold in California to try and repair a ruined fortune"; good descriptions of preparation of wagon train, countryside, route, and Sacramento; readable. Diarist died upon arriving in California.

TWIST, Julia S. Peck, of Beloit, Wisconsin; photographer.

Typed copy of travel diary, February-March 1861, 20 pages.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco via Panama aboard the *Ariel* in successful search for her husband in California; adventures shipboard and on shore, including mountain climbing; literate and amusing.

Published: *Past Made Present, a History of Beloit, 1830-1900.*

VARNEY, Jotham, of Brunswick, Maine; farmer.

Typed copy of travel diary, October 1849-April 1851, 11 pages.

Sea voyage from Bath, Maine, to Sacramento via Cape Horn, on the *America*; list of passengers and crew, including members of Brunswick Company, a group from Maine organized to search for gold along the Sacramento; daily activities, weather conditions, ship's course, descriptions of South American islands and ports, Sacramento, prices of goods; brief account of mining for gold, decision to buy a lot and set up shop making kegs; return sea journey via Panama; brief, readable account. Diary accompanied by typed copies of eight letters, 1849-1851, to wife and children in Maine containing more details than diary.

VARNEY, Maria L. (?-1888); housewife, writer, club woman.

Diary, January 1852-October 1854, 60 pages.

Scattered entries expressing feelings about leaving mother in East and arriving in San Francisco to meet husband, Thomas Varney, after a three-year separation; description of death of young daughter. Pasted into diary are many printed letters to newspapers revealing interest in social reform, including women's rights and dress, slavery, education, and assimilation of the foreign born. Unusual diary with vividly expressed emotions.

VARNEY, Thomas (?-1900) b. Vermont; miner, businessman, inventor.

Travel diary, February-August 1849, 80 pages.

Sea voyage from Cincinnati down Ohio and Mississippi rivers to San Francisco via Panama in 1849; describes daily life aboard ship, weather conditions, seasickness, ports, trek on foot across Panama, water rationing; philosophical comments on slavery, patriotism, and natives; motivated by desire to accumulate easy fortune in gold fields.



_____,

Daily diary, May 1857-January 1858, 120 pages.

Journal of inventor's experiments with a burner as a lamp; progress in legal suit involving deed to property; drafts of letters to newspapers, 1860–1862, and letters pertaining to fraudulent patent; descriptions of mines; scientific.

_____,

Daily diary, March 1875-February 1877, 120 pages.

Journal of experiments with gunpowder at Giant Powder Works; manipulation of gunpowder ingredients; testing explosions; impressions of Clipper Gap Iron Mines; notes of mine accidents from explosions; entries consist solely of experiments.

_____,

Diary, July 1877-November 1878, 20 pages.

Journal of experiments with cartridges, engines, powder works at a mill; lists of powder formulas of various companies and experiments with gunpowder; factual.

VINCENT, Joshua S. (1823-?) b. Elmira, New York; soldier, printer.

Travel and daily diary with typed transcription, July 1846-November 1847, 100 pages.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn as member of New York Volunteers; describes weather, fish and fowl, dull, daily routine aboard ship, Rio de Janeiro, San Francisco, and activities in Monterey; detailed, interesting and at times humorous.

WILLIAMS, John L., of Batesville, Arkansas; newspaper publisher.

Incomplete handwritten copy of travel diary, October 1848-March 1850, 22 pages.

Journal of anecdotes and character studies while aboard the steamship *C. J. Marshall* enroute along the Ohio River from Cincinnati to St. Louis; highly readable. Not described is the company's overland journey with a herd of cattle to California.

YOUNG, George W., of Massachusetts; farmer.

Travel and daily diary, May-October 1849 and March-September 1850, 93 pages.

Sea voyage from Boston to San Francisco via Cape Horn by members of the Massachusetts Mining Company; weather conditions, ship's location, activities of fellow passengers. Second part describes establishing a farm in San Jose Valley, crop growth and selling prices; uneventful account including occasional philosophical reflections, especially concerning slavery.

The photographs are from the CHS Library.

ERRATA—Winter 1976 *Quarterly*

Harry Kelsey, "A New Look at the Founding of Old Los Angeles"

Page 331: Rafael Mesa was conclusively identified as a settler in a list prepared at Los Alamos on July 15, 1780, not July 15, 1781.

Page 333: Nicolasa Ramirez and Guillermo Soto were not "in the first group" of people who settled at Los Angeles. They traveled in the same party as Mesa, and their July wedding at San Gabriel adds evidence that Mesa arrived well before the traditionally accepted date of August, 1781.

Page 335: The list of settlers and retired soldiers prepared at Los Angeles on February 4, 1816, was compiled by Guillermo Cota, not Guillermo Soto.

Book Reviews

Mirror of the Dream: An Illustrated History of San Francisco.

By T. H. Watkins and R. R. Olmsted. (San Francisco: Scrimshaw Press, 1976. 300 pp. Illustrations. $27.50.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, *reviews editor of the* Quarterly, *social historian, and author of the recent publication* All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855–1975.

This book delights both the mind and the eye. Too often "illustrated histories" are simply tired collections of often-seen pictures punctuated by vapid, innocuous texts. But *Mirror of the Dream* includes scores of fresh, previously unpublished photographs and a lively, intelligent discussion of San Francisco history from the Gold Rush to the present.

According to Watkins and Olmsted, cities are "the very essence of civilization, the mirror of the dream. And nowhere does the reflection of our own civilization gleam more authoritatively than in the successive exposures of the process and purpose, the accident and ambience that shaped the city of San Francisco. . . ." If this sounds like typical San Francisco chauvinism, it should be noted that the authors' affection for the city is tempered by a realization of its shortcomings. A major theme of the book is the extent to which the dream has been unfulfilled, and ample coverage is given to the many instances of social conflict, political corruption, physical desecration, and cultural failure in the city's history. The tone of the book is witty and ironic rather than romantic.

Most of the illustrations depict modest, everyday elements of life in the past, though the mandatory photographs of the Earthquake and Fire, the 1934 General Strike and the changing skyline are included. But the best of the pictures give insight into the routine lives of normal people and thus balance the text, which of necessity deals with the movers and shakers and the major events. The illustrations are well-integrated into an overall physical design which is elegant without being lavish.

The book's greatest shortcoming is its failure to emphasize San Francisco's ethnic and cultural diversity. Chinatown and the anti-Chinese movement are well covered, but aside from this, the reader would have difficulty discovering that San Francisco has always been a city of foreign immigrants. In 1970 nearly half the population was either foreign-born or children of foreign-born parents, and in the past the percentage has been even greater.

Watkins and Olmsted are preservationists at heart, and their book documents the destruction of much of San Francisco's physical heritage in recent years. But *Mirror of the Dream* also chronicles some significant preservationist victories and ends with an ambitious plan for public access and development on the northern waterfront. Viewing the city and its immense problems in 1976, the authors still claim that "time had not yet done its work. If San Francisco was very lucky—and very, very careful—perhaps it never would." But even if the city as we know it does self-destruct, this book will remain a tribute to the dream of a refined urban civilization that San Francisco has consistently evoked throughout its history.



A timeless tableau of San Franciscans on the lawn of Golden Gate Park's Conservatory.

California: Five Centuries of Cultural Contrasts.

By Julian Nava and Bob Barger. (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1976. 428 pp. Illustrations, index. Paper $7.95.)

California Historymakers.

By Alan A. Hynding. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1976. x, 154 pp. Illustrations, Paper $4.95.)

Reviewed by Edward Staniford, *teacher of California history at Chabot College, Hayward, and author of* The Pattern of California History (*1976*) *and a forthcoming local history*, El Cerrito: Historical Evolution.

During the past decade, college and university teachers have sought novel approaches to stimulate student interest in reading materials for standard courses, like ones in California history. The general textbook providing systematic treatment of the subject and the supplementary reader covering major problems and issues have given way to books with specialized approaches which catered to student interest. After a decade of the so-called anti-textbook movement, the issue is still a live one, though one discerns a renewed appreciation of the general textbook. The issue at stake is whether students benefit from selective approaches or systematic treatment in gaining a better understanding of California's historical development.

Among the latest publications utilizing novel approaches are a Julian Nava and Bob Barger textbook, *California: Five Centuries of Cultural Contrasts*, and Alan Hynding's reader, *California Historymakers*. The 428-page paperback textbook produced by Nava of California State University at Northridge and Barger of Long Beach City College focuses on the impact of minority groups on California's historical development. Each chapter opens with an inquiry and ends with questions which are designed to promote student comprehension of chapter material. The writing is generally clear and flows easily, though the style is uneven. The text, generously supplemented with photographs, is presented in an attractive format. The authors tell their story in traditional narrative fashion, sprinkled with familiar anecdotes. They tend to describe events rather than analyze problems and issues, which sharpen the focus on historical developments. The authors lean to the older approach by emphasizing the Indian and Hispanic periods (42 per cent), as compared to the 1850–1910 period (33 per cent) and the 1910–1975 period (25 per cent), and by stressing political topics (3 parts) over economic (1 part) and social (1 part) topics.

The authors have undertaken an ambitious scheme which falls short of fulfillment. Their objective to present a comprehensive outline of the subject in concise form is compromised by their tendency to dwell at length on selected topics, then glide over other topics. Consequently they give scant attention to major subjects such as party machines and reform politics from 1870 to 1920, manufacturing enterprises from 1870 to 1945, religious movements from 1870 to 1910, and the social revolution of the 1960's. This shortcoming may be attributed to preoccupation with the second objective of showing the role of racial minorities, to which they devote almost one-fourth of the text in the American period alone. The authors present a simplified version of the complex subject which is generally descriptive rather than analytical. They examine racial relations from a narrow rather than a broad perspective. Occasionally they veer toward rhetoric and the stereotype—the good guys versus the bad guys—which is apt to arouse compassionate concern rather than a judicious understanding of injustices done to minority groups. The problem of scholarly treatment of such a subject may be in the method. The general textbook apparently lacks the advantages of the specialized readers (Daniels and Olin, Frakes and Solberg, and Wollenberg), which provide a sophisticated understanding of minorities in California history. Whatever the limitations of the Nava-Barger publication as a general textbook, it will certainly appeal to teachers and students who share sentiments of the authors in their emphasis on racial minorities in California history.

Alan Hynding, who teaches at San Mateo College, uses the biographical approach to enable his reader to "personalize" California history, and he has done the job well. He presents twenty-two historical figures, writing a brief descriptive biography to introduce a scholarly study for each figures. Most of the studies are drawn from leading books on the subjects, but several are selections from professional journals, including four from the *California Historical Quarterly* and two from the *Pacific Historical Review*. Hynding's biographical sketches are well-written and end with provocative questions for the reader to consider in evaluating the historical figure. He admits to certain biases in selecting recent figures over earlier figures and including the not-so-famous because they were interesting, as well as the famous



California's Indian population, severely depleted by the time A. W. Ericson photographed this ceremony in Humboldt County, may have numbered as high as 310,000 before the invasion of the white man.

who were important figures. By such a self-imposed goal, Hynding omits major figures (Earl Warren and Henry Kaiser to mention two), and his text might be appropriately entitled "Interesting Historical Figures" rather than History-makers in the sense of decision makers of California history.

In his biographical sketches, Hynding shows more care in qualifying the historical roles of his later figures than the earlier ones, which leads to a few inaccuracies. Costansó is given credit which belongs to Ayala for the first accurate description of San Francisco Bay (Costansó made a rough sketch from a Marin hillside). To say none surpassed Vallejo in wealth and prestige among the Mexican rancheros is to overlook de la Guerra in Santa Barbara, Domínguez in Los Angeles, and Yorba in San Bernardino, as Paul Gates shows. The "first acclaimed literary figure" in the state's history is not Louise Clappe (Dame Shirley), but Lt. George Derby, as Franklin Walker will attest. Huntington may have been the "most hated man" in *some* quarters, but he was in addition so greatly respected that Bancroft included an admiring biography of the railroad leader in his "Builders of the Commonwealth" series. The collection of historical biographies in this 154-page reader is nevertheless a quality work that will be undoubtedly a useful reader for teachers and students of California history.

The Population of the California Indians, 1769–1970.

By Sherburne F. Cook. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. xvii, 239 pp. $12.75.)

Reviewed by Albert B. Elsasser, *Associate Research Anthropologist, University of California, Berkeley.*

It is a truism that interpretation of historical events can be heavily conditioned by emphasis on demographic data. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example, the magnitude of impact of white civilization upon the native Indians can be significantly measured by invoking population figures alone. Several scholars have concerned themselves with these matters, but none has gone so far in this field as the late S. F. Cook. Cook was a well-known physiologist, primarily, and his studies of California Indians are marked by the same exacting methods he employed in investigating all sorts of biological phenomena, whether or not they referred to human subjects.

Obviously any general assessment of demographic data pertaining to Indians would have to begin with estimates of their numbers in the pre-European contact period. In 1940–43, when Cook first published his work on the native populations of California, he agreed with Anthropologist A. L. Kroeber's figure of around 133,000 Indians in 1768, about the time of the first Franciscan Mission entry to California. Since an earlier and generally accepted estimate by James Mooney of the number of pre-Contact Indians in North America north of Mexico amounted to slightly over 1,000,000, probably both Kroeber and Cook were being cautious in attributing such a relatively small number (less than 150,000) of native occupants to California.

In the present volume, Cook increases the number of California Indians before 1768 up to 310,000. This is accomplished by supplementing his earlier (c. 1942) work with a vast amount of new information and insights. If we accept Cook's new figure, then the implication that almost one-third of the Indians in what are now the United States and Canada resided in California surely must be modified. Mooney's (1928) total for these regions indeed must have been far off the mark. In addition, in the new numerical terms of Cook, at least, the responsibility of Hispano-Mexican missionaries or colonists or of Anglo-American miners in reducing the

Indian population is almost doubled. It should be noted that the decimal census of California Indians around 1900 lists only about 15,000 Indians, not much lower than Cook's estimate for that time.

Following the summary of the pre-Contact population data, Cook devotes the remainder and greater part of the book to demographic considerations of the period from 1860 to 1970. Here he makes liberal use of U.S. Census and other government documents, and by careful annotation of data on age distribution, vital statistics (e.g. birth/death ratios), "degree of blood," and spatial distributions of Indian populations, he comes up with several clear trends involving the history and fate of the Indians. Among these is the observation that even though the California Indian population has shown a remarkable increase or resurgence since 1900, it is difficult to see how their genetic integrity can be maintained indefinitely. The chief factor here is probably mixing, based upon the Indians' comparatively recent strong removal from a rural to an urban environment.

This volume is an indispensable reference for students of California history. It is at once probably the culmination for native demographic studies in California and perhaps will serve as a pacesetter for similar pursuits concerning other native groups elsewhere in North America.

Eminent Women of the West.

By Elinor Richey. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1975. 276 pp. Illustrations. $7.95.)

Women of the West.

By Dorothy Gray. (Millbrae: Les Femmes, 1976. 180 pp. Illustrations. $5.95.)

Reviewed by Lynn Bonfield Donovan, *CHS manuscripts librarian and coordinator of the Women in California collection. She is actively searching for manuscript, printed, and photographic sources on women's roles and activities.*

Authors Elinor Richey and Dorothy Gray are to be commended for tackling a subject so long neglected—western women's history. Both writers have approached the subject through biography, and both volumes are handsomely published, Richey's with good photographs. Each has been written for the general public, however, and perhaps it is unfair to review them in this journal of history where the criteria of primary source research and clear interpretation are usual evaluative standards.

Elinor Richey has chosen nine women for "profile treatment," women who were born and raised in the West (four in California) and all of whom achieved national acclaim: Gertrude Atherton, Imogen Cunningham, Isadora Duncan, Abigail Scott Duniway, Julia Morgan, Jeannette Rankin, Florence Sabin, Gertrude Stein, and Sarah Winnemucca. Richey's introduction makes the claim that each of these women was pushed to independence by "the social climate of the West" and by the gifts of "courage and persistence and pride of sex and optimistic discontent" given them by their mothers, theories which are not developed in the biographies themselves. Except for an interview with Cunningham (which is mentioned in the text but not in the bibliography), the biographies bring no new material to the reader and consist mainly of a retelling of stories from other printed sources. Major manuscript collections exist for most of these women, and it is regrettable that they have not been consulted.

Recently both Duncan and Atherton have been popular subjects with writers. Richey's treatment of Duncan, in particular, must be added to the list of these studies which contribute no fresh insights on this unusual woman, including Ishbel Ross' *Charmers and Cranks* (Harper & Row, 1965) and Antoinette May's *Different Drummers* (Les Femmes, 1976). On the other hand, Atherton has received some skilled attention in history journals, most notably in the recent articles by Sybil Weir in *San Jose Studies* (February, 1974) and Carolyn Forrey in the *California Historical Quarterly* (Fall, 1976). Unfortunately, Richey's evaluations of Atherton's writings are frequently incorrect; while Atherton's heroines were independent, often forthright, and outspoken, not all of them (or even half of them) "flouted Victorian mores." And while Atherton did sometimes cast her heroines after herself (Melton Abbey and Helena Belmont, for instance), she does not reflect anything but her independence in others such as Tiy, Dido, and Ida Compton. It is not a fair assessment either to say that in the later Atherton novels, all male characters appear deficient compared to the heroines. As for Richey's statement that Atherton had "many . . . runaway best sellers," only *The Conqueror* and *Black Oxen* would qualify, and none sold anywhere near a million copies, as did

Owen Wister's *The Virginian.* I would agree that Atherton was "the most read woman writer of her times," although I'm not sure how to prove it, and certainly she has not received the credit deserved for originating the biographical novel.

Richey's journalistic style, although popular these days, is unfortunate in tone. In addition to suggesting historic interpretation without presenting facts, she makes a practice of first-naming women without extending the familiarity to men. I could read "Julia" (for Morgan) if the author would also write "Bernard" (for Maybeck).

Dorothy Gray's book on western women is far more solid although subject to criticism. Her brief biographies of about twenty women (which do not overlap with Richey's selection) include Willa Cather, Sacajawea, Dame Shirley, and Narcissa Whitman. Gray's stated purpose is to describe the "strange," meaning "unique," experience offered in the West for women. Although I would agree that the western woman's experience differed from that of her sisters in the East, I think it was not so different from her eastern grandmother's pioneering existence. In any case, Gray makes an attempt to describe the western experience by including women who made the long overland journey from the East, women who lived in mining communities and on farms and cattle ranches, and even women who were members of minorities. Most of her essays are based on wide primary research, and exciting reading is made from the stories of Juliet Brier's 1849 crossing of the Mojave Desert and Biddy Mason's fight in the California courts for freedom from slavery. (One source overlooked on Mason was Sue Bailey Thurman's *Pioneers of Negro Origin in California* [Acme, 1952].) Incidentally, Gray's book points out one of the main difficulties in the "heroine" approach to women's history, *i.e.*, to convince readers of the importance of a particular woman, her role may be falsely enlarged, as in Gray's essay on Sacajawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Gray's book has been published by Les Femmes, an imprint specializing in general interest books by, for, and about women. Anyone interested in women's history should be alert to their fine publications; some are guides for women actively changing their roles, and some are of historical importance—my favorite being Judith Colucci Breault's *The World of Emily Howland: Odyssey of a Humanitarian.*

Two other recently published books briefly touch on the subject of western women's history although their main focus is in the East. W. Elliott Brownlee and Mary M. Brownlee's *Women in the American Economy: A Documentary History, 1675 to 1929* (Yale University Press, 1976) includes the wonderful story of San Francisco ILGWU organizer, Jennie Matyas. June Sochen's *Movers and Shakers: American Women Thinkers, 1900–1970* (Quadrangle, 1973) contains references to Californians Miriam Allen deFord and Anita Whitney.

As a final note I applaud Richey and Gray for titling their books with dignity. At last we have buried the cranks, the charmers, the gentle tamers, the shady ladies, and the wily women of the West.

The Real Joaquin Murieta: Robin Hood Hero or Gold Rush Gangster?

By Remi Nadeau. (Corona del Mar: Trans-Anglo Books, 1974. 160 pp. Illustrations. $6.95.)

Reviewed by Leonard Pitt, *Professor of History at California State University, Northridge, and author of the college textbook,* We Americans: A Topical History of the United States (*1976*).

Wise readers often balk at books that claim to deal with the "real" anything, including the "real Joaquin Murieta." Still, this is a serious work by a recognized writer (author of *Los Angeles, From Mission to Modern City,* and *The Water Seekers*) and one that merits careful reading.

The main point of the book is that while Joaquin Murieta is, indeed, a literary myth, the creator of the myth, John Rollin Ridge (Yellow Bird), did not weave him out of whole cloth. Rather, he founded his fanciful tale on a genuine, though elusive and poorly defined, badman. Those who have concentrated on debunking Ridge—especially Joseph Henry Jackson in *Bad Company* and Franklin Walker in *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*—have thrown the baby out with the water. Nadeau cites newspapers and other primary sources dating from the 1850's which, he says, were overlooked by "all" previous writers, including Jackson and Walker.

Nadeau's central argument in favor of a "real" Joaquin is sound enough. In the course of establishing it he re-examines the origins of the literary myth, the alleged exploits of Joaquin in Los Angeles and Calaveras, the skullduggery of the rangers who went to kill him, the confusion over the identity of Joaquin's sidekick, Three-Fingered Jack, and the latter-day writings of "myth-killers" Jackson and Walker.

Yet the book invites criticism. The author's claim to originality is exaggerated. Though his facts are more numerous, his basic assumptions and conclusions closely resemble those of Walker and Jackson. The latter, citing the *Alta California* of 1853, refers to "a marauding cattle-thief who did exist—Joaquin Murieta" (*Bad Company*, p. 4). I said almost the same in *Decline of the Californios*. The truth is that even Nadeau's strenuous efforts have turned up no dramatically new hard proof about his man—no baptismal or marriage record, no gallows confession or corroborated eyewitness account to give him flesh and blood and character.

Another point: in a work where evidentiary matters are of prime importance and where all evidence is circumstantial and inconclusive, precise citations are absolutely essential. The editorial decision to omit footnotes was unwise. We are left wondering exactly *who* gave the testimony about Joaquin in the Los Angeles murder trial, who said what about him on the night of November 7, 1852, and who established the "public record" on him. Are the data from credible or corroborated witnesses? We deserve to know, yet the bibliography alone won't help on this score.

But the writing is lively and lucid, the coverage is broad and balanced, and, despite its defects, the book is a welcome addition to the literature of Crime and Punishment in Gold Rush California.

Some California Catholic Reminiscences for the United States Bicentennial.

Edited by Msgr. Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles: California Catholic Conference, 1976. ix, 166 pp. $5.00.)

Reviewed by Gary F. Kurutz, *CHS Library Director.*

"The present volume," according to editor Msgr. Francis J. Weber, "is issued by the California Catholic Conference, in the name of the Golden State's People of God, as a prayerful tribute to the American nation in the 200 years of its independence." This slender volume consists of a collection of seminar papers presented at three California Catholic universities by a group of distinguished historians and prelates that "touch upon a number of vital historical factors identified with the Cátholic presence along the Pacific Coast." While the book, as one would suspect, focuses on the religious, it also provides significant data on things secular.

Although much of the material included has been previously published or made available elsewhere, Editor Weber fashioned together in one volume a capsulization of the best research currently underway dealing with California's Hispanic past. Weaving together the art of biography and historical interpretation with the science of archaeology, eleven essays cover a number of topics ranging from early Jesuit exploration of Baja California to the activities of modern graduate students digging up the past at Mission San Diego. A major portion of these reminiscences, of course, are devoted to the missions and their relationship with the secular world of viceroys, soldiers, and American smugglers. Only two of the contributions touch on the post-Hispanic era.

After the introductory material, *Some California Catholic Reminiscences* begins with W. Michael Mathes' superbly written "Cornerstone of Catholicism in the Californias" which summarizes Jesuit activities in exploring Baja California and founding fifteen missions. Fr. Francis Guest, an expert on Spanish colonial institutions, provided an analysis on the famed Leather Jacket Soldiers derived from his findings in the Archivo General de La Nación in Mexico City. James R. Moriarty, an archaeologist-historian from San Diego, contributed a compelling narrative on his efforts to locate at Mission San Diego the remains of California's first martyr, Fr. Luís Jayme. A comparison of events in California and in the thirteen colonies was eloquently stated by Doyce B. Nunis in "California Within the Context of the American Revolution." Fr. John B. McGloin, the doyen of San Francisco's Catholic heritage, narrated the story of his city's first churches and their pastors. Sister Magdalene Coughlin, an authority on California's early coastal trade, contributed a revealing article on the practical economics of sustaining a mission system in "Missionary and Smuggler: Agents of Disobedience or Civilization?" Art historian Therese Whitcomb reviewed the architectural impact of Catholicism's most visible reminder, the mission. Fr. Maynard Geiger, the distinguished biographer of Fray Junípero Serra, delivered a fascinating account of the mechanics involved in achieving the missionary's beautification. Ray Brandes, an accomplished archaeologist and historian, illustrated the significance of Mission San Diego based on his years of excavations at the site. Iris Engstrand completed this historical anthology by summarizing her extensive research into the cryptic file of José de Gálvez, the powerful *visitador general* who made possible the colonization of Alta California.

Each of these essays, then, represents highly readable and well researched narratives by experts in their respective fields. However, it is regretful that a selective bibliography or notes were not included to round out the scholarly tone of several of these essays. Nonetheless, these reminiscences present the reader with a lucid perspective of the events that shaped California at the time the thirteen colonies struggled for their independence. It is a fine tribute to the Bicentennial of a new nation and the creation of an "Outpost of Empire."

We Were 49ers! Chilean Accounts of the California Gold Rush.

Translated and edited by Edwin A. Beilharz and Carlos U. López. (Pasadena, Ward Ritchie Press, 1976. xx, 230 pp. Illustrations. $9.95.)

Reviewed by A. P. Nasatir, *Professor of History at San Diego State University and author of several studies of Chileans and other South Americans in California.*

Carlos U. López, Chilean-born California resident and professor at Menlo College, has actively engaged in making known the story and literature of his countrymen who came to California in the era of the Gold Rush. In remarkable rapidity he has published a number of books and articles, mostly in Spanish, giving to the public the story of the achievements, contributions, and experiences of his countrymen in the early days of California under American rule. Joining with his friend and mentor, Professor Edwin A. Beilharz, distinguished professor of history at Santa Clara University, now retired, and an expert on early Spanish California, he now gives us in English translation in *We Were 49ers* a valuable addition to our knowledge of early California immigrants from Chile.

Chilean gold-rush observer Vicente Pérez Rosales has been known to historians and the California chapters in his *Recuerdos del Pasado* long ago published in English in a limited and now scarce edition. López and Beilharz, however, have found the unpublished manuscript of the first part of Pérez Rosales' diary in the Chilean National Archives (this reviewer added a copy to The Bancroft Library) and published it together with three earlier articles and parts of others, most of which material may be found in the most popular editions of the *Recuerdos del Pasado*. The Pérez Rosales accounts given here are easier to read and informative, and they contain the very picturesque *dibujos* or illustrations reproduced in higher quality than in the Spanish edition which López had published in Argentina.

The second half of *We Were 49ers* gives to the American public and scholar English translations of several obscure but important first-hand accounts of the history of the Chileans in California. Chief among these is the record of Jil Navarro, which chronicles anti-Chilean violence in California and adds for the first time the Chilean perspective on Chili Gulch.

A year ago López wrote and edited *Episodios Chilenos en California* in which he summarized and added greatly to the story of Chilean activities in the Gold Rush period. The chief original source in that publication is the relatively unknown account of Pedro Isidore Combet, and this new volume contains a first English translation.

Bejamín Vicuña Mackenna is the only other early Chilean whose travels in California in 1855 are well known to American scholars, and the selections included in this new work are translated for the first time into English. Beilharz and López have also selected a few letters from *Los Chilenos en San Francisco de California*, by Roberto Hernández Cornejo, which is undoubtedly the best account of Chileans in California heretofore published. The four letters from contemporary Chilean newspapers and periodicals selected from Hernández' Volume I have been translated by Beilharz and López, but when this reviewer checked the accounts in the newspapers against those in Hernández, he found that the letter of February 16, 1855, is neither complete nor the same as appeared in *El Mercurio*; the letter dated February 21 appeared in *El Mercurio* of May 11; and the letter of May 1 appearing in *El Mercurio* of July 21 is only a small part of the complete letter and is organized differently.

The last selection in *We Were 49ers* is the account of Pedro Ruiz Aldea, who was in California a decade after the other Chilenos. López published letters numbered 4, 5, and 6 in his *Episodios*, but only letters 4 and 5 appear in this volume under review.

In addition, *We Were 49ers* contains a short introductory account of the Chileans in California based mainly on López' *Episodios* and a bibliography. Handsomely printed by the Ward Ritchie Press, the volume is profusely illustrated with Pérez Rosales' drawings and with other (some well known) illustrations. Beilharz and López have rendered the Chilean accounts in smooth and free English translation

making for pleasant and enjoyable reading. I have not closely checked the translations, but in Aldea's closing paragraph the Spanish account given in *Episodios* reads "martes" [p. 173] and the English account [p. 223] renders that "Thursday." Since Chileans have an almost "Chilean Spanish language" of their own, perhaps my knowledge of Spanish is faulty.

A Primer for Local Historical Societies.

By Dorothy Weyer Creigh. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1976. 153 pp. Illustrations. Paper $6.50.)

Researching, Writing and Publishing Local History.

By Thomas E. Felt. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1976. 165 pp. Paper $6.00.)

Reviewed by Seonaid McArthur, *Associate Director of the California History Center at De Anza College, Cupertino.*

Two new American Association for State and Local History publications are valuable guides for the increasing number of local historians and historical societies in California. Each of the volumes provide professional guidance and direction, while promising to alleviate the frustrations of the "seat of the pants" approach.

In *A Primer for Local Historical Societies,* Dorothy Creigh presents the ABC's of not only beginning a society but improving the quality and professionalism of society functions. A founding member of Nebraska's Adams County Historical Society, the author bases her suggestions and advice on ten years of successes and failures she has observed and experienced.

The primer begins with the foundation on which the society will be built. Questions about functions, purposes, and scope are raised along with the nature of membership and financing. She discusses the fundamentals of society organization in light of interests, limitations, and the importance of its goals within the community.

The author also provides the steps for growth and improvement of the historical society described as "short on money but long on enthusiasm, imagination, and ingenuity." The primer is for both the amateur and the overambitious. The initial fundamentals of organization such as Financing, Publicity, Beginning Projects for Limited Budgets, and How to Use Volunteers are discussed. Individual chapters are devoted to projects which can be developed to enhance the society's purpose and meaning: Oral History, Site Marking, Establishing a Historical Library, and Preservation of Buildings. A thorough listing of references enhances the practical nature of the primer. While making the reader aware of the enormous task at hand, *A Primer for Local Historical Societies* could not only help establish but revitalize this necessary community endeavor whose mission today becomes increasingly complex and important.

Thomas Felt's *Researching, Writing, and Publishing Local History* is a useful handbook for recordkeeping, research techniques, and printing technology. With candor and depth the author provides proven guidelines and procedures for compiling grass roots history resources for publication. Each section of the work provides practical tips which promise to benefit the community group or unseasoned local historian.

The author's emphasis upon the scholarship of research attempts to remove the taint of "sentimentality, poetic nostalgia, pride, and wishful thinking" that often discolors the reliability of local history publications. Methods for carefully obtaining an honest appraisal of facts and interpretations include efficient, thorough, notetaking methods; maximum utilization of resource libraries, publications, and historical agencies; and correct use of primary and secondary sources. The author also emphasizes using the scholarly researcher who is willing to contribute to the common stock of sources available to others.

Without getting into the subject of style, Felt's chapter on writing treats the basic areas of common concern in historical writing: quotations, documentation, and bibliographic listings. The legal use of source materials, copyright laws, and related legal considerations are a relevant but too often overlooked aspect of documentation discussed here. The section on publishing is recommended for anyone who wishes to use the latest in printing technology to communicate the written and visual message. The author clearly presents the basics of technical terminology, printing techniques, and methods for improving the visual and aesthetic impact of the printed message. While it often seems difficult or bothersome to learn new methods of approaching old subjects such as research, writing, and publishing, Felt's important resource guide facilitates improving the quality of scholarship in local history publications and making maximum use of time and limited printing budgets.

California Check List

Gary F. Kurutz, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1976-77) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographic information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

Angelo, Valenti. *Valenti Angelo: Author, Illustrator, Printer.* San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1976. $70.00. Illustrations. Publisher, 545 Sutter Street, San Francisco.

Basten, Fred E. *Beverly Hills. Portrait of a Fabled City.* Los Angeles: Douglas West Publishers, 1975. Illustrations. 383 pp. $23.50.

Castellini, Mary W. *A Victorian Heritage in Old Cow Hollow.* San Anselmo: by the author, 1976. Illustrations. 56 pp.

Dinkin, Joan. *Fresno. A Bibliography.* Fresno: Apr Publishers, Inc. [1976]. $6.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 5075, Fresno 93755.

Dmytryshyn, Basil. *Colonial Russian America. Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832.* Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976. Illustrations. 158 pp. $12.00. Publisher, 1230 S.W. Park Avenue, Portland, OR 97205.

Earl, Guy Chaffee. *The Enchanted Valley and Other Sketches.* Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1976. $10.50. Publisher, Box 230, Glendale, 91209.

Egan, Ferol. *Frémont: Explorer for a Restless Nation.* New York: Doubleday, 1976. Illustrations. $14.95.

Heritage Oaks Committee. *Native Oaks. Our Valley Heritage.* Sacramento County Office of Education, 1976. Illustrations. 60 pp. $2.50. Publisher, 9738 Lincoln Village Road, Sacramento.

Hylen, Arnold. *Bunker Hill: A Los Angeles Landmark.* Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1976. Illustrations. 160 pp. $22.50. Publisher, 535 North Larchmont, LA 90004.

Geiger, Maynard and Meighen, Clement H. *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815.* Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1976. 170 pp. $19.95.

Gibson, Wayne Dell. *Tomas Yorba's Santa Ana Viejo, 1769-1847.* Santa Ana: Santa Ana College Foundation Press, 1976. Illustrations. 328 pp. $12.00. Publisher, 17th at Bristol Streets, Santa Ana 92706.

Kahn, Edgar M. *Cable Car Days in San Francisco* (Reprint). San Francisco: The Friends of the San Francisco Public Library, 1976. Illustrations. 117 pp. $4.95.

Kaneshiro, Takeo (Compiler). *Internees. War Relocation Center Memoirs and Diaries.* New York: Vantage Press, 1976. 102 pp. $4.95. Publisher, 516 W. 34th Street, New York 10001.

Kauffman, Richard. *Headlands.* San Francisco: Friends of the Earth, 1976. Illustrations. 88 pp. $125.00. Publisher, 529 Commercial Street, San Francisco 94111.

Levinsohn, John. *Cow Hollow. Early Days of a San Francisco Neighborhood from 1776.* San Francisco: San Francisco Yesterday, 1976. Illustrations. 45 pp. $7.50. Publisher, 2107 Union Street, San Francisco.

Lewis, Betty. *Watsonville. Memories that Linger.* Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1976. Illustrations. 220 pp. $10.00. Publisher, 8 E. Olive Avenue, Fresno 93728.

MacDonald, Craig. *Leather 'N Lead. An Anthology of Desperadoes in the Far West, 1820-1920.* Boston: Branden Press, 1976. 144 pp. $7.95. Publisher, 221 Columbus Avenue, Boston 02116.

MacPhail, Elizabeth C. *Kate Sessions. Pioneer Horticulturist.* San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1976. Illustrations. 153 pp. $8.50. Publisher, Sierra Museum, Presidio Park, San Diego.

Mason, Jack. *Olema, Dear Valley.* Inverness: North Shore Books, 1976. Illustrations. $1.25. Publisher, P.O. Box 293, Point Reyes Station 94956.

Mitchell, Annie R. *The Way It Was. The Colorful History of Tulare County.* Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1976. Illustrations.

165 pp. $14.50. Publisher, 8 East Olive Avenue, Fresno 93728.

Muir, John. *Rambles in King's River Country*. Ashland: Lewis Osborne, 1977. 64 pp. $25.00. Publisher, Box 647, Ashland, OR 97520.

O'Neal, Margaret. *California's Mission Heritage*. San Diego: by the author, 1976. Illustrations. 104 pp. $22.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 82197, San Diego 92138.

Peterson, Bonnie and Heidenger, Martha. *Dawn of the World. Stories Told by the Coast Miwok Indians*. Fairfax: Tamal Land Press, 1976. 38 pp. $3.00. Publisher, 39 Merwin Ave., Fairfax 94930.

Pethick, Derek. *First Approaches to the Northwest Coast*. No. Vancouver, B.C.: J. J. Douglas, Ltd., 1976. Illustrations. 232 pp. $12.50. Publisher, 1875 Welch Street N. Vancouver, B.C.

Pettitt, George A. *History of Berkeley*. Alameda: Alameda County Historical Society, 1977. Illustrations. 74 pp. $4.95.

Pourade, Richard F. (Editor). *The Broken Stones. The Case for Early Man in California*. San Diego: Copley Books, 1976. Illustrations. 166 pp. $16.50.

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Shumate, Albert. *The California of George Gordon*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1976. Illustrations. 272 pp. $9.50. Publisher, Box 230, Glendale 91209.

Sleeper, Jim. *Santa Ana Mountains*. Trabuco Canyon: California Classics, 1976. Illustrations. Maps. 240 pp. $10.00. Publisher, Box 291, Trabuco Canyon 92678.

———. *Turn the Rascals Out. The Life and Times of Orange County's Fighting Editor Dan M. Baker*. Trabuco Canyon: California Classics, 1976. Illustrations. 432 pp. $10.00.

Smith, Jesse M. (Editor). *Sketches of Old Sacramento*. Sacramento: Sacramento County Historical Society, 1976. Illustrations. 244 pp. Publisher, Box 1175, Sacramento.

Strauss, Leon Lewis. *Two Children, a Tenor, and a Dog*. Redwood City: By the author, 1976. Illustrations. 47 pp. Author, 158 King Street, Redwood City 94062.

Sunset International Petroleum Corp. *Echo in Spring Valley: A History of Sunset, CA*. N.P.: By the author [1976]. Illustrations. 30 pp.

Urban, Roger F. *Oakland—A Mediterranean City*. [Oakland] By the author, 1976. Illustrations. 48 pp. $13.95.

Washburn, Wilcomb E. (Editor). *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*. New York: Random House, 1976. 3026 pp. 4 vols. $135.00.

Weber, Francis J. *The Jewel of the Missions. A Documentary History of San Juan Capistrano* [San Juan Capistrano, by the author], 1976. $10.00. San Juan Capistrano Mission, P.O. Box 697, San Juan Capistrano 92675.

Willms, Marjorie. *Touring Knights Ferry with Tom*. Oakdale: By the author, 1976. Illustrations. 160 pp. $12.00. Author, 16025 Willms Road, Oakdale 95361.

Wood, Richard Coke. *The Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Water Controversy*. Bishop: Chalfant Press, 1976. Illustrations. 75 pp. $3.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 787, Bishop 93514.

Wurm, Ted. *St. Leo's Parish, Oakland, CA. 1911-1917*. Oakland: St. Leo's Parish, 1976. 48 pp. $3.00. Publisher, 154 Ridgeway Avenue, Oakland 94611.

Zumwalt, Kenneth D. *Joe Zumwalt. Forty-niner*. San Diego: Zumwalt Trade Printing Co., 1976. Illustrations. 38 pp. Publisher, 1241 Sunset Cliffs Blvd., San Diego 92107.

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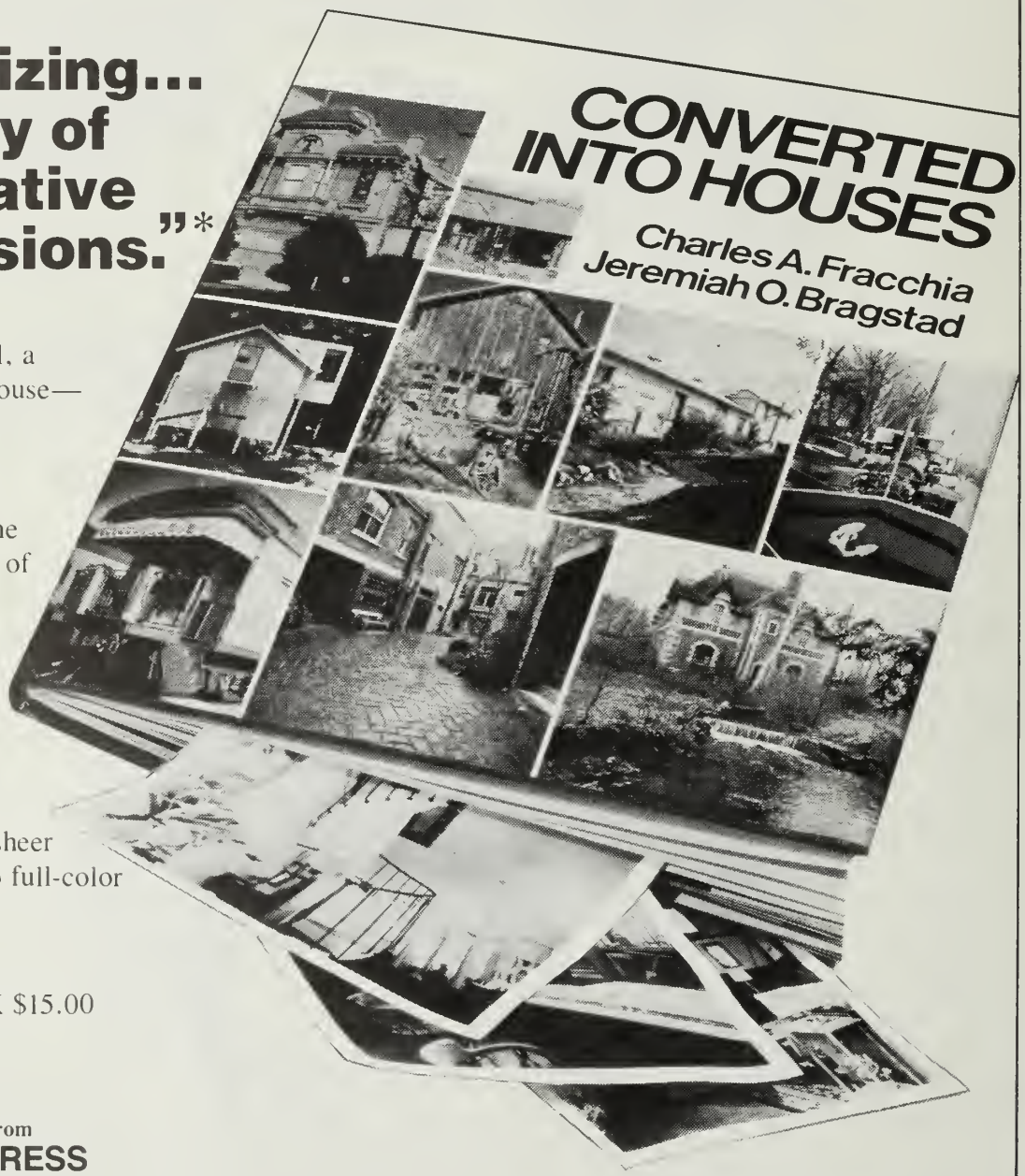


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COVER

From a peaceful vantage point high on Telegraph Hill, sunset-watchers gaze west over the frame buildings inching up San Francisco's hillsides and across the Golden Gate to the old Sausalito rancho. For a less lofty perspective on the real estate that made fortunes for California's first military and government "carpetbaggers," turn to the article beginning on page 98. *1876 lithograph from the CHS Library.*

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Paul W. Gates

Carpetbaggers join the rush for



The army regarded a portion of the Sausalito rancho across the Golden Gate from San Francisco's Presidio (lithograph view from Telegraph Hill) as crucial for protection of the Bay.

California land



Never had there been such a rush of politically ambitious men seeking public offices and anticipating the accompanying spoils as descended upon California in 1849. In December a correspondent of the *New Orleans Delta* noted that "of nearly two thousand passengers now between Chagres and Panama, there are about six hundred lawyers, and of them four hundred go out with the expectation of being returned to Congress, or the legislature, at least; seventeen are electioneering for the gubernatorial chair, and twenty-one embryo senators are already calculating the savings to be made on the mileage allowed by Uncle Sam from San Francisco and back."

Joining if not matching in magnitude of success the civilian office seekers who rushed to grab up land claims and speculate in town lots were military and naval officers, most of whom arrived in California, courtesy of the United States government, in 1846–1848 during the war with Mexico. On official duty or furlough, many officers found time to mine, open stores, purchase large land claims, and speculate in town lots while on the government payroll. Some suffered notoriety for their actions, others quietly cashed in, but a recounting of their profitable and privileged real estate transactions provides an interesting perspective on how the West was won by Yankee speculators.

The most well known civilian "carpetbaggers" who arrived in California were William M. Gwin, David C. Broderick, and John B. Weller, all of whom migrated between 1848 and 1850 with the intention of being returned by the new state to Washington, D.C., as senator or member of the House of Representatives. And none can say that John C. Frémont, who enjoyed the powerful support of his father-in-law, Thomas Hart Benton, and

---

Mr. Gates is Emeritus Professor of American History at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, and author of *California Ranchos and Farms, 1846–1862.*

A summarizing analysis of Mr. Gates' contributions to the study of government land policies and their effects on the development of the West appears in this issue's review article beginning on page 170.

the needling of his able wife, Jessie, played the shrinking violet. All four were shortly to reach the Senate.[1]

Gwin, of course, was an old hand at soliciting federal appointments and valuable patronage for his personal advantage and for the Democratic party. During the thirties, as a United States marshall in Mississippi, he had received $75,000 as his half-share of the emoluments of that office while he was deeply involved in obtaining Indian allotments and scrip and in speculating in land. Later he became a one-term congressman from Mississippi, then commissioner of public works at New Orleans in charge of the construction of the customs house. In 1849 he emigrated to California and was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention at Monterey, and in 1850 he won the long term in the United States Senate.[2] While Gwin was in the Senate his controversial claim for $56,000 against the Chickasaw Indians was finally paid off (to the discomfiture of Whigs who disapproved and Democrats who thought they smelled a rat in the business).[3] Then followed two terms of five and four years in the Senate, separated by two years during which the California legislature could not agree on a candidate. Gwin was rarely off the government payroll or denied favors by friends in power. In the Senate he allied himself with the pro-slavery element, which in California was called the Chivalry or Chivs, and yet in framing the Land Act of 1851, he took a surprisingly agrarian and pro-settler position that won for him the condemnation of the great landowners of the new state.[4]

Never one to waste time, Gwin was said to have acquired early in his California career the Roblar de la Miseria grant of four leagues in Sonoma County which was patented in 1858 for 16,887 acres. In 1859 it was reported to be open to purchase for $15 an acre.[5] On November 10, 1885, Gwin's wife, Mary E. H., came into the ownership of what later became 25/1001 of Vicente Peralta's Rancho San Antonio in Alameda County which she continued to hold as late as 1896.[6] Whether this share was received by the senator as a fee for defending the title and turned over by him to his wife is not clear. Vague references appear regarding a rancho in Merced County which, it was later charged, was the motivating force inducing him to favor a route for the Pacific railroad through the San Joaquin Valley by way of the southern route.[7]

Gwin represented Joseph Folsom in the defense of his Rio de los Americanos claim on the Sacramento River against the United States and won early confirmation for 35,521 acres, for which his fee was said to be either $1,000 or $2,000, well below the usual lawyer's fee for successfully defending the title to a large claim. Gwin also represented the Pacific Mail Steamship Company in cases against the United States, possibly in gaining confirmation of its 5,527-acre claim to Mare Island, and obtained for the company generous subsidies for carrying the mail.[8] Gwin's recent biographer adds that he also had an interest in the New Almaden mine.[9] One might inquire, who did not?

The most serious charge levied against Gwin was that he stood to profit from the government's $200,000 purchase of a portion of the Sausalito rancho. A part of the rancho at the Golden Gate just across from the Presidio in San Francisco was regarded by army officials as essential for the protection of the Bay. William A. Richardson, an Englishman, had emigrated to California in 1822, married into the family of the commander of the Presidio, and become a citizen and the owner of three ranchos: one 20-league rancho in Mendocino County, Pinole in Contra Costa County for 17,786 açres, and Sausalito in Marin County for 19,571 acres.[10] Richardson sold a portion of Sausalito to S. R. Throckmorton, who then offered his portion, consisting of an estimated 2300 to 2500 acres, to the army for $200,000. Army officials approved the purchase, Congress appropriated the necessary funds, and then political opponents of Senators Gwin and Weller raised the cry of fraud. Their only evidence was the amount of the purchase price which was looked upon as excessive at the time because the land had little

William M. Gwin, like fellow-carpetbaggers Broderick, Weller and Frémont, arrived in California intent on being returned by the new state to the U.S. Senate. Gwin made and lost fortunes but finally cashed in on his mining properties.



value for any purpose other than a fort. Senator Broderick, who replaced Weller in 1857 and whose wealth depended on his own land and other deals which were not above question, jumped into the fray, calling the purchase a fraud, and succeeded in having all negotiations for the purchase put off indefinitely.[11] Investigation by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs revealed not a scintilla of evidence that fraud was involved,[12] but the history of numerous other affairs involving state and federal property or money in which evidence of unethical practices, if not outright corruption, were involved did not encourage belief in the integrity of California politicians. Newspapers hostile to Gwin such as the *Alameda County Herald* maintained that the $200,000 was five times the value of the tract and inferred that most of the money was to provide for Gwin's reelection expenses. The *Herald* predicted rightly, in fact, that it would take a far larger purse to appease the voters of California. The odd feature about the whole excitement was that the charge of fraud was made by Broderick, who in his short career in California had amassed a fortune of $300,000 to $400,000 while fighting his way upward through the political machinery by deals that few could explain, whereas Gwin's activities seem to have been largely above board. This is not to say, however, that Gwin's moves in Washington were not calculated to advance his property interests.[13]

Gwin's pro-slavery following in California dwindled, and he lost his Senate seat in 1860. Though his sympathies were with the Confederates, he could not bring himself to join them nor could he support the Union. Twice arrested on suspicion of intriguing with the Confederates, Gwin withdrew to France when released and there sought concessions with Mexico from Maximilian. His plantation near Vicksburg was plundered and burned, and his schemes for reopening old mines in Sonora fell apart, but wealth came to him after the conclusion of the war when he acquired control of a mine in California which yielded a high return in gold.[14]

John C. Frémont, California's first senator-elect, and his land investments have been treated elsewhere, but David C. Broderick, California's fourth senator-elect, and his extensive investments in San Francisco property which helped make him a wealthy man have been neglected. A minor political figure and Tammany Stalwart in New York City until defeated for political advancement, Broderick joined the rush to the Pacific Coast where he quickly established himself as a power in the Democratic party, especially in San Francisco. Within a short time he became a virtual party dictator through the use of patronage and boodle and his skill in "the manifold arts of the politician."[15] Himself a major beneficiary of his patronage, he set up with a partner a coinage business to transmute gold dust into five- and ten-dollar pieces possessing an intrinsic value of $4.48 and $7.80, the

Originally granted to William A. Richardson, the Sausalito rancho's second owner tried to sell it to the army at an inflated price amid charges of fraud.



later being, as one specialist noted, "the least valuable of all the varieties of ten dollar pieces ever struck by private persons in this country." Coining money in such a lucrative fashion, in addition to the loot he may have shared through the purchase of the Jenny Lind Theatre for $200,000 by the City of San Francisco, brought Broderick the means to speculate widely in beach and water lots in the Bay city. Some writers, including the editor of the *Alta California*, were convinced that the sales of these potentially valuable lots by the City for a mere song had been made improperly, but efforts to overturn them were successfully resisted, and blame was focused on Sam Brannan and others with whom he was associated. The number of lots they acquired has been stressed, while Broderick's share has been overlooked by his apologists.[16] Although the historian Hubert Howe Bancroft (who was among those trying to shield Broderick from imputations of peculation and misuse of his political power) used Alfred Wheeler's *Land Titles in San Francisco* which includes lists of Broderick's purchases, Bancroft abstained from mentioning these purchases while showing those by others. Wheeler reveals that Broderick & Kohler (the coinage business partnership) bought two 100-vara lots, nine 50-vara lots, and six 50-vara water and beach lots, while Broderick alone bought one. Wheeler also shows that Broderick was the second largest purchaser of Peter Smith's lots, being outdistanced by Peter Smith himself, who had brought the action to force the sale of these city-owned lots. Broderick acquired three 100-vara lots, sixteen water lots, and two South Beach blocks, whereas Peter Smith purchased forty-eight water lots. Because the Peter Smith lots seem to have been sold by the time of Broderick's death, it may be assumed that he had depended on the income from their sale to finance his political campaigns. Certainly, Broderick was one of the largest holders of real estate in San Francisco, and the grantedly confused accounts of Bancroft and Theodore C. Hittell indicate that none of his purchases were cancelled or forfeited.[17]

Historians have reacted differently to Broderick's part in the move to cancel the Peter Smith sales. One implies that repeal or the prospect of repeal or of forfeiture of a portion of the sales enhanced Broderick's return from the lots, and the other historian, in line with his approval of Broderick, sees nothing sinister in the political boss's fight for repeal.[18] Rapid appreciation of the sale and rental value of Broderick's thirty-nine San Francisco lots did provide the means to build his political power, and he dominated the Democratic party and forced it to share its "takings" with him, becoming one of the wealthiest men on the coast. On his death in 1859 his estate was valued at $300,000 to $400,000 which averages out to nearly $30,000 to $40,000 yearly savings salted away.[19] At a public auction announced for November 30, 1861, held twenty-two months after Broderick's death, his intimate associate John A. McGlynn offered for sale a 100-vara lot now divided into twenty-two 25-foot lots on Market, Stevenson, and Harris streets, a second 100-vara lot, eight 50-vara lots, thirteen beach and water lots, and a larger tract near Mission Dolores. Most of them had been originally acquired from the city by Broderick or Broderick & Kohler,[20] but a number had been purchased by others. Whether they were acting under cover for Broderick is not clear. The published announcement, *Executor's Sale, Public Auction of the Broderick Estate in the City of San Francisco by H. A. Cobb and R. H. Sinton, Real Estate Auctioneers on Saturday, Nov. 30, 1861*, provides no information as to improvements and leases of the lots.[21]

The fourth man to be elected to the United States Senate from California with Gwin, Broderick, and Frémont, John B. Weller had served three terms in the House representing Ohio. Out of office for some years, he then ran as the Democratic candidate for governor but was defeated. His political reward was appointment as chairman of the commission to draw the boundary line between the United States and Mexico. With Ohio offering little inducement for political advancement, Weller decided to try his luck in California. After his dis-

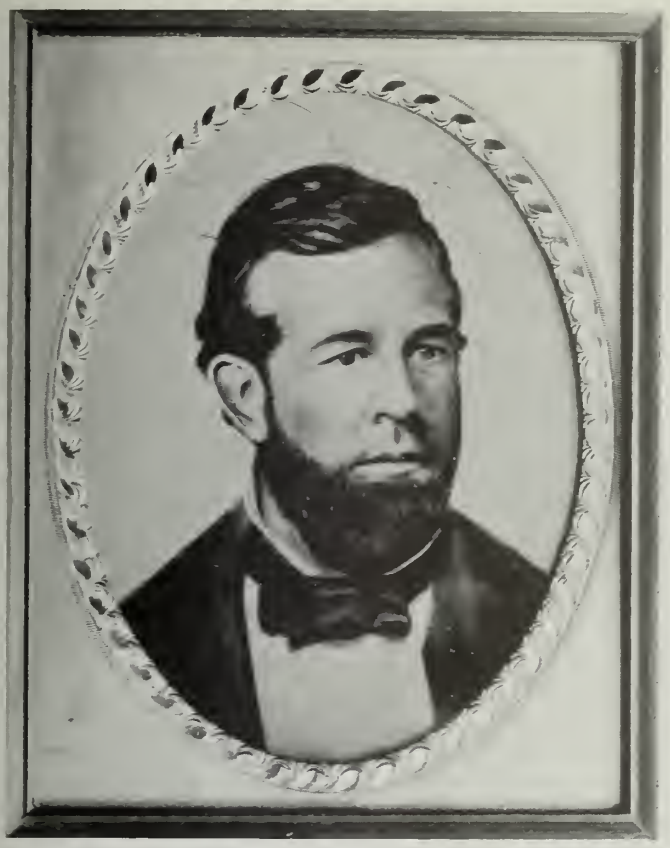
missal by the Whig administration and Frémont's decline in popularity in California, Weller was elected to replace him as senator from 1851 to 1857. He lost his bid for reelection at the hands of Broderick, but won election as governor of the state from 1858 to 1860.

Like Gwin, Weller was identified with the pro-slavery wing of the Democratic party, and, also like Gwin, he took a marked public stand in support of the settler element. In 1857 the state supreme court had declared unconstitutional the Occupancy Act of 1856 which attempted to give protection to settlers whose improvements were discovered to be on a Mexican land claim. In his first annual message of 1859, Governor Weller revealed that floating claims not specifically located within broad areas could be stretched to include settler improvements and that claimants were changing their original surveys for this purpose. He declared that to permit the claimants to change their boundaries, thus to incorporate such improvements, was the rankest injustice, and he urged the legislature to grapple with the question again.[22]

When his term expired Weller was made minister to Mexico, a post which he held until he was displaced by a hungry Republican. Weller was the purchaser of three 100-vara lots and one 50-vara lot of the Peter Smith sale, along with Broderick.[23] No further information concerning his business in real estate has surfaced, and he did not retain his residence in California. However, Charles L. Weller, brother of the senator, was made disbursing officer of the commission to run the Mexican-United States boundary, and in 1855 he was given the lucrative and politically important position of postmaster of San Francisco, one of the busiest offices in the country, which he served until displaced by a Republican in 1861. Charles was involved in a number of brawls, was strongly pro-southern, and in 1864, as candidate on the "copperhead" ticket for sheriff of San Francisco County, was arrested for his open opposition to the draft and for discouraging enlistment in the army.[24]

An ex-Democratic senator from Michigan who cut quite a swath in California for a time was Alpheus Felch, who represented Michigan from 1847 to 1853 and then was made chairman of the California Land Commission which had jurisdiction over the adjudication of the Mexican land claims. Land-lookers in California owed much to Felch and his Democratic colleagues, for they displayed a more questioning attitude toward doubtful claims than had their Whig predecessors.[25] When the commission's work was done, in a manner generally satisfactory to prevailing opinion, Felch represented Sacramento before the United States Supreme Court in opposing the Sutter claims for a fee of $5,000. The *Sacramento Bee* disapproved of the city fighting the claim before the Court, since it thought it best that the Sutter title to land on which the city was laid out should be confirmed because it already had passed through many hands. But at the same time the *Bee* favored paying Felch the fee.[26] Unlike so many other officials sent to California from Washington, Felch seems not to have speculated in land, and not long after his retirement as chairman of the land commission he returned to Michigan, where he had a notable career as member of the state judiciary, professor of law at the University of Michigan, and historian.[27]

In contrast, Thomas J. Henley, a former two-term Democratic congressman from Indiana, found good pickings in California after President Franklin Pierce made him postmaster in San Francisco in his first distribution of spoils. When complaints against Edward Fitzgerald Beale, perhaps as to his constancy, reached Washington, Henley was chosen to replace him as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California at a salary of $4,000 and was given authority to create additional Indian reservations, for which a large appropriation was provided. Henley established the Round Valley reservation of some 25,000 acres in Mendocino County, and in later years it was expanded to more than 100,000 acres, but white men were the sole beneficiaries and Indians were crowded off the land and large flocks of sheep pastured



Senator David C. Broderick became one of San Francisco's wealthiest and largest holders of real estate. Sales and rentals gave him the means to dominate the Democratic party before his death in 1859 in a duel a few days after he sat for this ambrotype.

on it. When a congressional investigation was held in 1885, it became apparent that Henley's two sons held 28,000 acres of the reservation, the rights in which were defended by the congressman-son of Thomas Henley. In the investigation, Henley's son denied that he had any knowledge of his brother having illegally fenced public land, and he affirmed he did not think his brother "did anything more than was right." One is led to believe, however, that the exploitation of the reservation by the Henley family had begun when Thomas had been first appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs.[28]

Another official who traveled west and found financial gain was Calhoun Benham, the first district attorney for the northern district of California, who may originally have taken the long journey to the coast to save the new commonwealth for the Whig party. He proved slack in his presentation of the government's case against borderline and more questionable land claims and doubtless was responsible for some of the close but favorable decisions confirming such claims. Like Volney Howard, Alpheus Felch, and other officials of the United States who gained knowledge and experience in handling government cases and then applied their experience against it, Benham became counsel for two of the 107 cases reported in Hoffman's *Report on Land Cases*, including the very dubious Luco claim for 50 leagues. On appeal he took five claims for 95 leagues to the Supreme Court, where he lost all five. Among them was the Hartnell Cosumnes claim for 11 leagues which had been confirmed by the land commission for 6 leagues and on appeal to the district court for 11 leagues before the Supreme Court overturned the Hoffman decision by confirming only 6 leagues. In 1856 Benham acted as attorney for land holders who were trying to remove the Butte County seat from Oroville, for which $5,000 had been promised him and his partner. In 1854 he became the unsuccessful Whig candidate for election to Congress. His pro-southern sympathies were well known, and in the Civil War he was arrested at the same time as former Senator Gwin, Joseph Lancaster Brent, and Horace A. Higley on charges of disloyalty.[29] (Benham was to take refuge in the Confederacy, Brent was to serve it as a brigadier general, and Higley was held prisoner at Johnson's Island, while Gwin did his best to avoid actual service with the rebel government.[30])

Although born a Maine Yankee, Volney E. Howard quickly shed his New Englandism but not his love of money when he moved to Mississippi in 1832 and thereafter identified with the pro-slavery wing of the Democratic party. Combining law and politics, he acquired some eminence in Mississippi, moved on to Louisiana in 1843, and to Texas in 1844, where he was elected to Congress for two terms from 1849 to 1853. His pro-slavery views led him in 1850 to vote against the admission of California with its free-state constitution. While a member of Congress he appeared before the Supreme Court in behalf of Boisdore's heirs who were trying to secure confirmation of a claim to 400,000 acres in Louisiana, but over vigorous opposition by a minority of the Court, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney rejected the claim.[31] As a lame-duck congressman, Howard was rewarded by President Pierce for his loyalty to the party with an appointment as law agent of the California Land Claims

On his fabulous gold-bearing Mariposa grant, John C. Frémont established his residence at Bear Valley.

Commission at a salary of $5,000. There he hoped to make another start for a high position.

Howard failed to gain the Senate seat to which he aspired, but California offered other richer opportunities. As law agent he had responsibility for taking testimony and marshalling evidence for the land commissioners. Charges were brought that he had withheld information that would have killed the Sausalito claim in which he was later said to have an interest, though whether this charge was made at the time of the trial is not evident.[32] In the short time that he served as law agent, he acquired valuable experience which he used like Benham, Felch, and Harry J. Thornton, one of the original members of the land commission, who advocated the confirmation of the claims they represented.[33] Among the cases he represented were Sutter's New Helvetia, Stephenson's Medanos, Weber's Campo de los Franceses, Frémont's Mariposa, and Reading's Buenaventura. On the other hand, Howard also either had an interest in or represented such doubtful cases as the 3-league Bolton & Barron-Santillan claim and the 2-league Palmer, Cook & Co.-Punta de Lobos claim in San Francisco, in addition to the 20-league New Albion claim in Mendocino County, the enlarged Sutter claim, and the 11-league Cambuston claim in the Sacramento Valley, all of which were defeated.[34]

If popular support to satisfy his political ambitions was what Howard craved, he made a serious mistake in taking an outright stand in opposition to the vigilantes of 1856 and in trying to induce the state and federal governments to intervene by bombarding San Francisco. In this instance, President Pierce failed him, and with the climate of opinion in Northern California less favorable to persons of strong southern prejudices, he found it wise in 1860–1861 to move to San Gabriel where he could more safely expound his friendship for the Confederacy. After the Civil War, Howard regained a measure of popularity and was elected to a number of local offices.[35]

Members of the Ord family of Maryland also were persistent seekers after government patronage. Pacificus Ord, his brother, and his father were all employed in the Treasury Department in the early thirties, and Pacificus lobbied for years for additional compensation for his services. (Two House reports were favorable, but the third report opposed further payment.)[36] Two brothers preceded Pacificus to California in 1847, one as an officer and one as surgeon with the U.S. Army; Pacificus came in 1848. Contrary to army regulations, Pacificus and James Ord were issued army provisions in 1849 by Lieutenant E. O. C. Ord, but, as one writer says, perhaps this was the only way underpaid army officers in California could meet "the inflated living costs of the gold-rush period."[37] Pacificus was appointed judge of the Superior Tribunal in 1849, was a member of the Constitutional Convention, and was made district attorney for the southern district of California in 1854 while he was still private counsel for several land claimants.

While serving as district attorney, Ord ordered transferred to the southern district the Panoche Grande claim which had been rejected by the land commission, so that it could be heard by easily persuaded Judge I. S. K. Ogier who detested writing out his decisions and favored confirming all land claims having any documentation. Unlike the more rigid and scholarly Ogden Hoffman of the northern district, Ogier without objection from Ord and "without enquiry or examination" confirmed the claim. Thereafter, one-half of the 4-league Panoche Grande with its rich mercury deposits was conveyed to Ord, presumably for his part in winning favorable action by the district court. Ord's action was clearly fraudulent on its face, though Ord was later to state that he had tried to get the attorney general to hire counsel to defend the government's interest in the claim, but no such authorization was given.[38]

A later district attorney fortunately learned of Ord's extreme act of indiscretion and managed to return the case to the Supreme Court which vacated the order of dismissal and returned the case to the lower court for further



litigation. In 1865, Justice Nathan Clifford affirmed that Ord's action was fradulent and added that there had been no concession or grant nor "any satisfactory evidence that any title of any kind was ever issued by the governor to the claimant." Furthermore, original grantee Vincent Gómez had never occupied the grant and probably never even saw it.[39] Thus, another fraudulent claim was finally rejected after years of expensive litigation, but the ownership of Panoche Grande was far from settled, at least so far as the assignees of the Gómez claim were concerned. They kept the matter before Congress for another thirty-five years in the vain hope of gaining relief either through government compensation for the loss or the recovery of the title which had passed to others.[40]

The busy Ord was also claimant for the 2,666-acre Punta de Pinos rancho which was not patented until 1880, and in 1861 he owned one-sixth of the Fernandez grant of 17,805 acres in Butte County, one of the most northern of the grants. His brother, Lieutenant E. O. C. Ord, owned 140 acres near Monterey and 1,200 acres on the Cosumnes River, which he had received for surveying the Hartnell claim.[41]

The last of the civil officers who made good in California is Jesse D. Carr, truly one of the most crafty and arrogant of the early rich in California. Sent out as acting deputy collector of customs in San Francisco,[42] after one year he determined he could do better on his own in the vibrant economy of the new state. At first he lent money at 10 per cent monthly to hard-pressed people and made himself inaccessible for repayment, according to a complaint in the *Marysville Herald* of September 17, 1850. He also invested heavily in the stage coach business, in sheep ranching, and in land speculation. The Pulgas rancho, to which he moved in 1851, first attracted his attention; then he turned to the Cienega de Gabilan rancho of 48,780 acres in Monterey County[43] and the Aromitas rancho of 4,000 acres in San Benito County. Soon he was charged with corrupting officials in the surveyor-general's office to assure that his ranchos were surveyed to include land claimed by neighboring owners with whom he feuded.[44] In Modoc County he built up a great rancho of 15,000 acres of patented land through the use of dummy entrymen to file for him on swamp, agricultural college, and school lands and to convey them to



At his Mariposa grant, Frémont welcomed prominent visitors who arrived by stage (Frémont seated at right on stage), among them probably Commodore Stockton who leased a portion of the grant for mining.

him for a slight consideration. He carefully selected these lands to include full access to water, thereby giving his great flocks of sheep "exclusive pasturage" of 150,000 acres more. That Carr's "land grab" of tracts 4700 to 4800 feet in elevation was accepted by government agents as "swamp land" testifies to the man's unusual abilities at manipulation. Although Carr's insistence on taking over the lands and utilizing them for his sheep contributed to the most frightful and expensive Indian war in American history, the Modoc War,[45] Carr remained highly successful in his land and ranching operations, being worth $1,500,000 in 1876, according to the *San Francisco Post*.

The record of United States civil officers in grabbing up claims at low valuation and in speculating in town lots was firmly matched by military and naval officers who came to California in 1846–1848, though with some exceptions the latter concentrated more on urban than rural property. Military men also acquired interest in or full ownership of ranchos all the way from San Diego to Marin County and played a major role in town-site promotion and securing federal patronage for localities in which their investments centered.

Commodore Robert F. Stockton, who replaced Commodore John D. Sloat in charge of American naval operations off the California coast, arrived in Monterey in July, 1846, and within the year Lieutenant William Tecumseh Sherman, who witnessed and deplored the intense speculation by army and navy officers, was moved to comment that Stockton was "half crazy and has been buying a ranche, and doing other California acts of foolishness, and winds up by his land-cruise home."[46] Indeed, almost as soon as Stockton had landed, he attempted to buy one-half of the 11-league Jimeno claim on the Sacramento River from Thomas O. Larkin, but

because the original title papers were lost the purchase was not consummated.[47] Another observer, Jacob W. Harlan, relates in his discursive recollections that in July, 1847, he was hired by William A. Leidesdorff, a leading San Francisco merchant and real-estate developer, to fence sixteen 50-vara lots belonging to Commodore Sloat, Commodore Stockton, Colonel John C. Frémont, "and some others" in San Francisco to prevent squatters from occupying them. Of those mentioned, only Frémont and Leidesdorff are shown by Alfred Wheeler as purchasing 50-vara lots, but Leidesdorff or some other person may have bought for Sloat and Stockton. Among other purchasing 50-vara lots that Harlan might have named were Captains John B. Montgomery (and his two sons), Henry W. Halleck, William H. Warner, and Lieutenant John S. Missroon.[48]

In 1847 the eager Commodore Stockton purchased from James Alexander Forbes, a naturalized Scot and British vice-consul at Monterey, the admirably located Potrero de Santa Clara near Pueblo San Jose, containing 1,939 acres in Santa Clara County, for $10,500.[49] While the figure included all the cattle on the rancho, even for northern California at the time it was a stiff price. Shortly after he made his purchase, Stockton left for the East, resigned from the navy in 1850, and was elected by New Jersey to the United States Senate where he took a conservative stance toward government-funded development in the West.[50] He left his claim in charge of Henry W. Halleck, and in 1851 the estate was said to be entirely enclosed within a cast-iron fence, with portions already sold and built upon quite in the style of the best ordinary residences in the East. This was well before the title had been assured.[51] Halleck urged speedy confirmation of the claim and was successful in gaining the land commission's approval in 1853, though over the strenuous objections of the government agent who contended that Forbes had no right to alienate it. The claim was approved by the district court in 1855, further appeal was dropped, and the patent issued in 1861. By that time it was said to be worth $100,000. Stockton still owned 1,600 acres of the 1,939 acres patented to him and had 600 acres in grain which produced thirty bushels to the acre, according to the *Weekly Alta California*. He also had many acres in apple and peach orchards and other field crops.[52]

In addition to his investment in Potrero de Santa Clara, Stockton obtained a lease in April, 1850, from Frémont of a promising gold-bearing ledge in his fabulous Mariposa claim, and in partnership with William H. Aspinwall, Stockton sent out representatives to develop the mine with machines used in Stockton's Virginia mines. This ledge did not prove profitable, and operations of the Stockton and Aspinwall Co. were shortly abandoned.[53] One writer who is overly enamored of his subject pictured Edward Fitzgerald Beale, the Commodore's protégé, as rescuing the investment of Stockton and Aspinwall by converting it into a freighting and coach operation along the Sacramento which soon dominated the transportation business and made profits in nine months of $100,000 for the firm and $13,000 for Beale.[54] Stockton also apparently employed Robert B. Neligh in 1848 either to dig for gold or to trade for it on the American Fork. For his three weeks of labor, Neligh obtained over $2,000 in gold "in bags and bottles. . . ."[55] Considering the extent of Stockton's business, one may well inquire how it was possible for his eulogistic biographer, who had access to his correspondence, to observe under the heading, "Commodore Stockton's abstinence from speculation while in California":

> It is well known that . . . [after the conquest of California] extensive speculations in land were made by many Americans, which subsequently proved of immense value. Commodore Stockton saw and appreciated as well as others the certain improvement in value of property in California, and particularly at San Francisco. Opportunities were offered him of investment in property there which would have made him, had he embraced them, the most opulent man on the continent. But occupying a public position which gave him the greatest facilities for speculation, he considered it his duty to abstain from all complicity in such pecuniary operations.[56]

Military personnel exhibited no immunity to the consuming fever to acquire land.

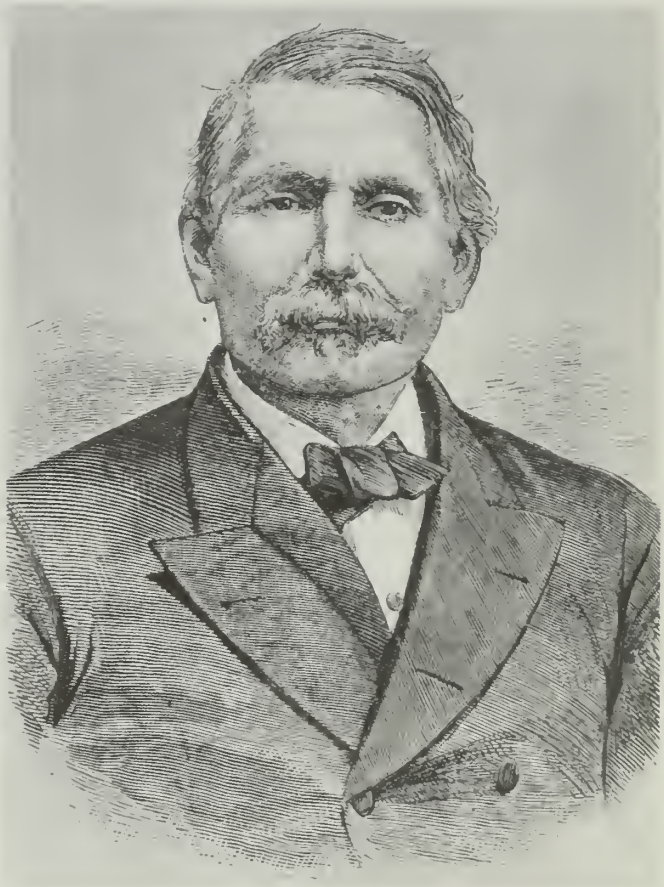
After Stockton was elected to the Senate in 1850, a naval lieutenant, who had an interest with Thomas O. Larkin in the large Jimeno grant on the Sacramento into which the commodore had attempted to buy, remarked that he thought the New Jersey senator "will be found on the side of the grants."[57] Actually, Stockton took no part in the debates concerning California land claims and, in fact, exercised little influence in the Senate.

Commodore Stockton's secretary, George Hyde, also did well by himself in California. He traveled with Stockton on the U.S.S. *Congress* in 1846, was soon made alcalde of San Francisco, and, while holding that position in 1847, granted to himself two 100-vara lots. For the next two years Hyde busily added to his San Francisco real estate until his acquisitions amounted to twenty-three of the 50-vara lots in addition to the larger 100-vara lots. With these favorable locations he built himself a large real estate business.[58]

Andrew Randall, gunner on the U.S.S. *Portsmouth*, had a spectacular rise to wealth and prominence in the nine years he lived in California after arriving in 1847. While the records of his business are meager, we know that he served as collector of the Port of Monterey and appears to have practiced medicine in San Francisco. He was also elected president of the California Academy of Sciences on three successive occasions. On November 5, 1853, he wrote Abel Stearns, offering to provide pasture for cattle on the nearly 50 leagues (more than 200,000 acres) he controlled. In addition to his Punta de los Reyes and the Sobrante addition amounting to 57,036 acres, he claimed with others Cañada de la Secunda and San Lorenzo in Monterey County at 26,630 acres and Aguas Frias at 26,761 acres in Butte and Colusa counties. He also had a more questionable claim to 8 leagues of Suscol which was ultimately invalidated. Randall told Stearns in 1853 that he had sold a thousand two-year-old steers for $50,000, which helps to explain how he had been able to acquire possession of so much land. However, he had stretched his credit to the limit by 1856 and was murdered by Joseph Hetherington, an Englishman "of considerable wealth" who was convinced that Randall was trying to evade payment of the debt on a technicality. For his rash action, which occurred in the midst of the uprising of the Committee of Vigilance, Hetherington was promptly tried by the committee, convicted, and hanged. The Point Reyes property later fell into the hands of the Shafter family who were to hold it for many years.[59]

Edward Fitzgerald Beale belongs to this story of acquisition, too, for of all the newcomers to the Pacific he was to assemble one of the largest estates which has survived in corporate hands until today. Beale first came to California in 1846 as a "master" with the navy, but he was soon detached for military service and then for messenger service. In this capacity he made six journeys from coast to coast. On one or more of these journeys, he became a guest on the rich 35,509-acre San Bernardino rancho of José del Carmen Lugo which he coveted. In 1849 he asked Abel Stearns to purchase the rancho with all its livestock and equipment for him for $25,000.[60] The sale did not go through, and the Mormons later acquired the rancho, but Beale did better elsewhere. His association with Commodore Stockton and William H. Aspinwall in trying to make something of Frémont's Mariposa claim was at first not promising, being marked by "toil, anxiety and disappointment," as he later said. He turned losses to profits, however, by moving the investment into a trucking business from which he more than salvaged the original capital and made a good sum for himself.[61] In 1852 he was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs for California and Nevada, and with a generous appropriation for the Indians Beale set out to develop at Fort Tejon in Kern County an Indian reservation where he soon had 2,500 natives domiciled. By 1854 he reported to his superior in Washington that he had 2,000 acres in wheat, was sowing 500 acres in barley, and planned to put 150 acres in corn. Irrigation was introduced by the construction of a nine-mile ditch six feet in width and eight feet in depth that completely surrounded the culti-

Assigned to California as a "master" in the navy and soon made an army messenger, Edward Fitzgerald Beale amassed money from management of Commodore Stockton's business and as Commissioner of Indian Affairs for California and Nevada.



vated fields. Beale's firm but kindly treatment of the Indians seems to have won their support. In 1854 Beale could write of his "perfect happiness and continual occupation what with the finest hunting in the world and a whole Corale full of 'Kubeleks,' and my farming operations, I never know a moment's leisure or unhappiness."[62] One senses that he had acquired almost a proprietary interest in the reservation.

Unfortunately, complaints arose in Washington of Beale's management, doubtlessly inspired by politicians anxious to award his lucrative position to a loyal Democrat. Charges of misuse of public funds were brought against him, and he was dismissed from office, though he later was able to account for all his expenditures. What probably bothered him almost as much as the charge was the abandonment by the government of the Indian reservation at Tejon, into which he had put so much energy and enthusiasm. Beale's natural talents, however, were later put to use by the Democrats who found opportunity to assign him to surveying roads,[63] and in 1861 the Lincoln administration made him surveyor general for California and Nevada. In the meantime, in 1855 Beale had bought La Liebre, the 48,799-acre rancho bordering on El Tejon. La Liebre was not to be patented for twenty years, which may explain why he was able to purchase it for a mere $1,500.

In addition to the improvements Beale had made on the Tejon reserve, the army had made even more valuable developments by building a fort, a hospital, and irrigation ditches at an expenditure of many thousands of dollars. The 18-square-league El Tejon had been granted in 1843 to Antonio Aguirre and Ignacio del Valle as a stock ranch, but they neither lived nor pastured cattle on it and made no improvements on it.[64] Consequently, it might have been forfeited, or the courts with a more rigorous examination might have rejected it. This may explain why the government expended so much energy and funds on it, possibly assuming that it would not pass approval. Lax defense by the government and a lazy judge enabled it to go to patent in 1863, the year that Beale purchased its 97,616 acres with all the buildings and improvements for $21,000.[65] In 1865 and 1866 he also acquired Los Alamos y Agua Caliente at 26,626 acres and Castac at 22,178 acres, for which he paid the highest price, $65,000 or nearly $3 an acre. This brought his total possessions to 195,219 acres, which were soon expanded to more than 270,000 acres by buying homestead quarters and purchases from the Southern Pacific Railroad. Bancroft later wrote that Beale's ownership of all the water rights gave him control of 300,000 acres of public lands mostly useful for grazing.[66] These four Mexican grants



At El Tejon, where the army later built a fort (photo c. 1870), Beale came to control some 270,000 acres of land, the basis of today's Tejon Land Company.

together with additional land since acquired constitute today's great 270,000-acre holding of the Tejon Land Company in Kern and Los Angeles counties.[67] Years later Beale became an absentee landlord, having established a residence in Washington where he was increasingly absorbed in politics and diplomacy, though he continued to retain a home on Tejon and was keenly interested in the ranch. In 1871, with a resident partner, he had 37,000 sheep and a small number of stock cattle, and the entire property was assessed at $611,158.[68]

Military personnel exhibited no immunity to the consuming fever to acquire land. In the scramble to gain ownership of lots in Monterey, the center for American naval activities in 1847, two navy officials with the aid of another obtained strategically located lots over the protest of an army officer who felt they should be retained in public ownership for defense purposes. Commodore W. Branford Shubrick and Lieutenant Theodorus Bailey arrived in Monterey in late January on the U.S.S. *Independence*, which also brought Lieutenants William T. Sherman, Henry W. Halleck, and Edward O. C. Ord. Halleck was entrusted with responsibility for the erection of fortifications at Monterey and San Francisco, and two days after his arrival (according to his account given seventeen months later), he alerted Commodore Shubrick and Lieutenant Bailey that the large lots on the heights overlooking the bay that they were endeavoring to purchase from the alcalde, Walter Colton, "would be required for... fortifications of the port of Monterey...." Halleck repeatedly warned Shubrick and Bailey that the lots were "absolutely essential" for protection of the port and persuaded General Kearny to forbid their sale, but he apparently failed to do so. Just sixteen and thirty-one days after they landed at Monterey, Shubrick and Bailey proceeded to purchase the lots from Alcalde Colton, who was a navy chaplain temporarily assigned to this political post. When Colonel R. B. Mason demanded an explanation of Colton's right to sell tracts essential for fortifications, Colton replied "usage" and cited *Rob Roy:* "The simple plan/that they shall take who have the power/and they shall keep who can." This incident proved to be but one of a number in which Halleck and his superior officers, Richard B. Mason and Bennett Riley, made vigorous efforts to prevent the alienation of land by alcaldes or other government officers with dubious authority and to protect the mission lands from improper claims and destruction.[69]

While in public service Rodman Price was one of the more fortunate buyers of San Francisco lots that made him rich almost overnight, though he was later cheated of the fruits of his early success. Price traveled to California in 1846 as purser on the naval ship, *Cyane*, was used as a messenger by Stockton, and later became navy agent. "On petition" he received two lots in October, 1847, purchased ten water lots, and was granted twelve more

for the construction of a wharf. Historian Hittell charges that Brannan, Talbot F. Green, and Price secured $300,000 of public funds for the building of the wharf which largely advanced the value of their adjacent lots. Price built for himself a residence on California Street and also bought lots in Benicia. Unlike so many other political-minded military and naval officers who acquired land and wealth in California, Price made his pile quickly and returned to New Jersey in 1850. He was elected as a Democrat to the House of Representatives and subsequently became governor of New Jersey. While in the House his major effort was made in behalf of the Frémont claims incurred on the Pathmarker's marches. During the Civil War he was accused of being a copperhead.[70]

The usually astute Price erred in leaving his San Francisco property in the hands of agents who did not prove reliable. Outstanding obligations, including clearing squatters from the well-located property, provided an opportunity for the agents to dispose of the lots and buildings in 1853 for a small part of their value and thereby enabled them to gain title to the property themselves. Many years later, Price brought suit for a million dollars against his former agents, claiming fraud in the sale.[71]

Like Price, Lieutenant Joseph Warren Revere arrived in California aboard the *Cyane* in 1846, but Revere was placed in command of American troops at Sonoma, from which place he made hunting trips for big game and for Indians whom he might impress and intimidate. In the course of his travels he visited a 2-league claim in Marin County named San Gerónimo that so intrigued him that he arranged to buy it from its original grantee, Rafael Cacho, in October of the same year. Revere placed a small herd of cattle on the rancho and intended to make it his home, but circumstances required him to go East for a time. By 1849 he had returned to California and found that the herd had grown to 500 animals, for which there was a ready demand in the mines. Revere was subsequently detached for military purposes and made "government agent for the protection of live-oak and other naval timber on the public lands . . .," but there appears no evidence that he took this unlikely assignment seriously. While in the service Revere had his rancho improved by Indians, raised crops which brought high returns during the Gold Rush, and sold a portion of his cattle at the mines for "enormous prices."[72] In 1850 he sold a half-interest in San Gerónimo to Rodman W. Price for $7,500, which was probably many times what he had originally paid for the entire rancho.[73] Revere became a brigadier general in the Union Army in the Civil War but was court-marshalled and dismissed for conduct at Chancellorsville, a severe punishment revoked by President Lincoln. His last years were spent in New Jersey.[74]

Lieutenant John S. Missroon arrived like Revere and Price in California in 1846 but aboard the *Portsmouth*. With Thomas Oliver Larkin, American consul at Monterey, Missroon purchased the 11-league Jimeno grant on the Sacramento as a speculation without giving adequate attention to its economic possibilities or the fund necessary to render the title safe. Before the territory was transferred to American control, he encountered difficulties with Larkin over plans to place cattle on the rancho with a supervisor to keep off squatters. Missroon declared that his agreement with Larkin did not call for such investments, which he feared would mount up, and by November, 1847, he expressed his disillusionment with the investment and proposed to sell his share.[75] Ultimately, squatters on Jimeno bothered the owners more than questions about the title, and Larkin and Missroon apparently thought the cost of resisting the squatters' inroads on the timber and threats to resist ejection not worth the effort. Hence, though the title to the Jimeno grant was the sixth confirmed by the Supreme Court in 1855, both Larkin and Missroon disposed of their interests in the property.[76]

The career of James Watmough, purser on the U.S.S. *Portsmouth*, further illustrates the tendency of many officers to be immediately caught up in the excitement about

In 1847 Army Lt. Halleck classified large lots on the heights overlooking Monterey Bay as "absolutely essential" for fortifications, but within a month after arriving in California Commodore Shubrick and Lt. Bailey purchased them from Alcalde Colton.



speculation in land despite being in government employ. Though Watmough made the navy his career, he liked California and arranged through Larkin to buy from M. G. Vallejo a tract of his Petaluma claim in Sonoma County of 640 acres for $900. He acquired a house-lot nearby and also a lot in San Francisco.[77]

Even the most religious were hard-pressed to resist the carpetbagging of the early statehood years. Take the career of Walter Colton, who established with Robert Semple the first newspaper, the *Californian*, and edited and managed it for the short time it flourished. Colton also produced his delightful reminiscences of his experiences at Monterey and in the mines, *Three Years in California*. If his judgments therein of his associates are too bland, they are excusable in a man who had no enemies, who was generous to a fault, and who practiced what he, as an ordained minister, preached. Vermonter Colton was a New Englander to the core, a graduate of Yale and of the Andover Theological Seminary, and a preacher who loved the sea and became a naval chaplain in 1831 in order to follow both loves. It was as chaplain on the U.S.S. *Congress* that he came to California in 1846 and was appointed alcalde in Monterey by Commodore Robert Stockton. While acting in this position he acquired property in Monterey, the capital of the province, and an interest in a quicksilver mine being developed in Santa Clara County. In 1849 he returned to the East bearing orders from Thomas O. Larkin to purchase two or three iron or brick buildings to be shipped to San Francisco where they were to be erected on Larkin's lots. Colton was provided with $3,500 in gold and authorized to draw on Larkin up to $3,000 more. Colton died in 1850, and extant correspondence does not offer further information concerning this business, but in 1850 his executor arranged to have

all taxes paid on his California properties and to select a local agent to manage them. The executor expressed particular concern about the vague information he thus far had obtained concerning Colton's share in the quicksilver mine.[78]

Of all the military and naval officials taking part in the scramble for ranchos and city lots, Henry W. Halleck was the most successful, perhaps not even excepting Frémont or Price, for Halleck managed to keep his fortune as Frémont and Price did not. Arriving in California in 1847 in the Army Corps of Engineers as first lieutenant and later brevet captain, Halleck performed various duties such as writing his well-balanced report on Mexican land titles and serving as secretary of state under Col. R. B. Mason, as inspector of light houses,[79] and as secretary of the Constitutional Convention in Monterey in 1849. Not until August 1, 1854, did Halleck resign from the army, but long after he had begun to engage extensively in land and town lot development. As early as 1847, Halleck was one of the larger purchasers of beach and water lots in San Francisco, acquiring twelve.[80]

In the midst of the great excitement about the skyrocketing value of San Francisco water lots in May, 1850, when his investments looked most promising, Halleck bought from Pablo de la Guerra nine of the ten leagues to which de la Guerra had claim in the Nicasio rancho in Marin County. De la Guerra and John B. R. Cooper, a naturalized half-brother of Larkin, had been given the grant in 1844, with eleven leagues for the former and five for Cooper. Halleck's price was $30,000, of which one-half was paid up on signing the agreement. By October, however, real estate values had fallen sharply, and Halleck was no longer as optimistic about his investment, nor was he in a position to pay the balance on the purchase, though he thought he might be able to pay $10,000 in January. Two years later he even offered to return his share to de la Guerra at a loss of $5,000. Though there was no question about the validity of the grant, it was technically overlapped by another which had been given to Indians but had not been vigorously prosecuted and was rejected for failure to appeal on deadline. In confirming the Nicasio claim the land commissioners questioned whether the exterior boundaries prescribed in the documents would allow fulfillment of sixteen leagues. When the surveys were finally run and the patents issued, it was found that Halleck had title to 30,848 acres and that three other purchasers of de la Guerra's additional league and Cooper's five leagues had 25,772 acres.[81]

In 1850 Halleck organized his law firm, Halleck, Peachy & Billings, which advertised in the *Alta California* that it was prepared to prosecute title searches and where necessary to examine government archives and procure copies and translations of records for the owners.[82] With his knowledge of Spanish-Mexican land laws and of the original records and the legal acumen of the three partners, the firm immediately became the best known and most successful in the adjudication of the claims. Because the rancheros' frequently lacked ready money, it was common practice for attorneys who successfully presented cases before the land commission, the district court, and the Supreme Court to take a share of the land.[83] No inventory of Halleck's estate or the property he acquired through the many claims cases he and his law firm represented exists, but his largest fee in land may well have been the 30,843-acre portion of the Nicasio claim. Halleck came to own the 35,521-acre Rio de los Americanos rancho of William A. Leidesdorff, later owned by Joseph L. Folsom. Upon his death in 1872, Halleck's net estate was $474,773.[84]

Like Halleck, Captain E. D. Keyes was highly successful in his real-estate business. Stationed by the army on the West Coast for a decade, he advanced his fortunes swiftly in San Francisco real estate, became a brigadier general in the Civil War where he was embroiled with another Californian in a bitter dispute over their respec-

Some 450 parcels of beach and submerged lots, mostly covered at flood-tide, were offered for sale and drew "spirited competition."

tive military operations, and lived to write in 1884 his lively *Fifty Years' Observations of Men and Events*. Keyes concentrated his investments in city lots in San Francisco, and according to his own report, he received an income of nearly $1,000 monthly from rents by 1851. Strangely, his name does not appear among the speculators buying the 50- and 100-vara lots which the city unwisely sold at modest sums to his fellow army and navy officers, but he may well have bought them through others. At the conclusion of the war he returned to San Francisco where he gave his energies to mining, banking, and grape culture.[85]

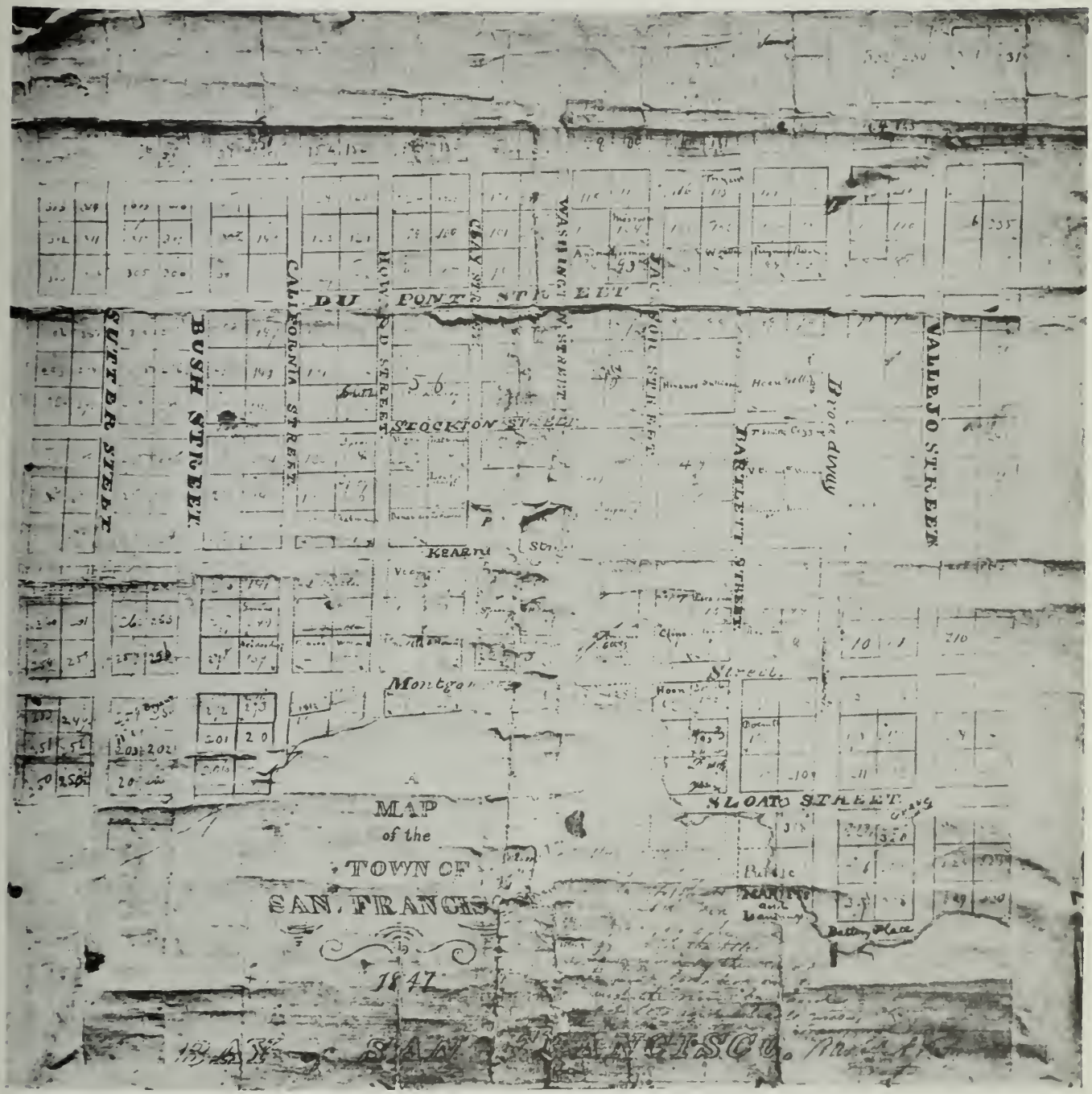
Watching the excitement that military operations and the discovery of gold brought to California, another military man, William Tecumseh Sherman, declared on March 12, 1847, while stationed at Monterey, that while many naval officers were purchasing land, "I'll not speculate as I purpose coming back to the United States." Four months later Sherman still refused to engage in land speculation like "several of the officers" who were buying ranchos and town lots, claiming that he "wouldn't give two counties of Ohio, Kentucky, or Tennessee for the whole of California."[86] Sherman was not, however, above making a pretty penny from outside activities while he held his army rank. With his commander, Col. Richard B. Mason, Captain William H. Warner, and most of the lesser officers in Monterey and San Francisco, he took off on a trip to the gold mines and entered into a partnership for a miners' store at Coloma in 1848, from which his share was $1,500, and with Lieutenant Edward O. C. Ord he surveyed the 26,605-acre Cosumnes claim of William E. P. Hartnell for which each received one league of land.[87] Sherman seems to have been embarrassed by his contacts in the mines with numerous enlisted men who had deserted their regiments, for had he not also tried his hand at mining, keeping store, trucking, and performing other services for gold? While he explained to a fellow officer that having no way to arrest and guard the deserters, he was in no position to apprehend them, perhaps he shied away from arresting men who were doing the same thing as he except that he had the permission of his superior.[88]

When Sherman took up duties at San Francisco in 1849, the city's cost of living had jumped so high that he had to use the profits made at Coloma to piece out his meager $70-a-month government salary. The league of land was sold for $3,000, and the proceeds invested in Sacramento lots which later brought Sherman a "fair profit," or a net of $6,000 for two months' work.[89]

Sherman apparently soon overcame his aversion to speculating in San Francisco lots, for in 1849 he bought twelve lots from men who had gotten in on the ground floor in the sale of choice town property, resold five of them to associates, and announced that he was determined to retain seven.[90] Sherman also came into possession of a portion of the 48,747-acre Campo de los Franceses rancho and 7/10 of the 38,532-acre Thompson rancho in San Joaquin and Stanislaus counties. The latter was acquired after Sherman had resigned from the army and become an official or partner in the banking house of Lucas, Turner & Co., and it may have been taken over through foreclosure of a mortgage.[91]

Sherman also handled the investments of Major and Quartermaster Thomas Swords who traveled to California with General Kearny but was surprised to learn that this contact did not influence him to support the leasing of a building in his care for the headquarters of the army. "Swords is so conscientious," Sherman wrote, "that he fears to treat with a friend on business," but Swords did not give up hope of negotiating the lease.[92]

James Ord, the brother of Lieutenant Edward O. C. Ord who owned the one-league of the Cosumnes, arrived in California as a physician with the Third United States Artillery and became a claimant for Salomon Pico's two-league grant in Tuolumne County which was rejected. James Ord spent some time in the "diggings" where, it was said, he "had rendered himself notorious . . . by his exhorbitant charges for medicine and medical



In 1847, San Francisco's real estate opportunities were still limited to the narrow crescent of land bordering Yerba Buena Cove.

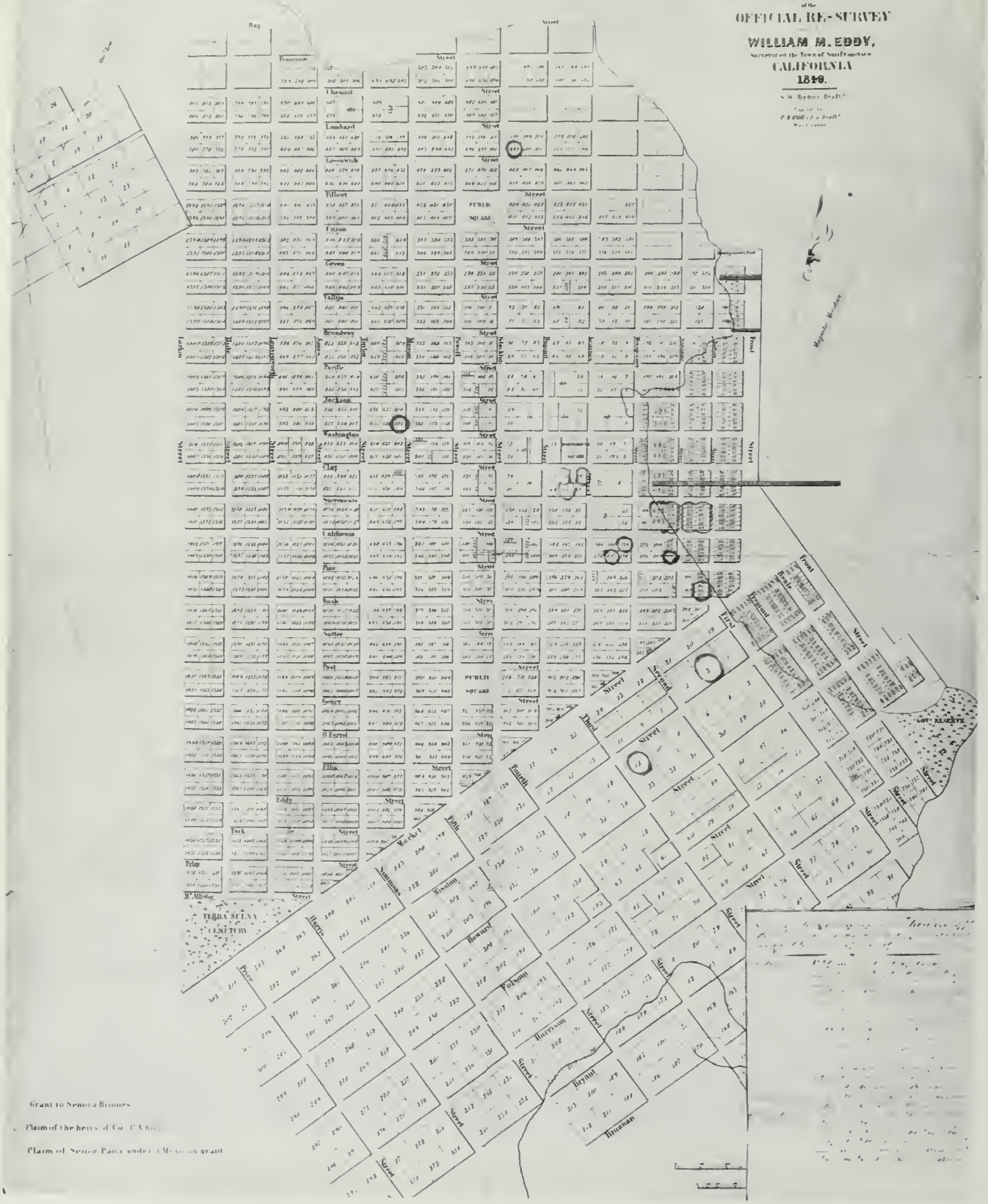
OFFICIAL MAP
of
SAN FRANCISCO.

COMPILED FROM THE FIELD NOTES
of the
OFFICIAL RE-SURVEY

WILLIAM M. EDDY,
Surveyor of the Town of San Francisco

CALIFORNIA
1849.

S. W. Haynes, Draftsman



advice, by which he had succeeded in realizing an immense sum of money. The circumstance was freely spoken of, but the doctor's gold rendered him opinion-proof."[93] Dr. Ord later married the widow of Manuel Jimeno who at one time or another had owned four grants: Jimeno on the Sacramento River, which had been sold to Larkin and Missroon in 1847; the 17,333-acre Santa Paula and 15,525-acre Santa Rosa grants in Santa Barbara County; and the 27,622-acre Salsipuedes in Santa Cruz County. By 1852 Santa Paula, as well as Jimeno, had been sold for a total of $45,000, which a friend of the Jimeno family maintained was no more than a third of their value. Jimeno's widow was of the de la Guerra family, however, no member of which was destined for poverty.[94]

Like Sherman, Ord, and other officers sent to California in 1846–1849 who had time on their hands and few responsibilities, George H. Derby, a lieutenant with the Topographical Engineers, arrived in San Francisco in 1849 and for the next seven years, with short periods of action, took up various outside tasks to keep him busy. He surveyed ranchos, for which his compensation was lots or acreage, drew up plans for extensive land speculations, and became a newspaper columnist, an editor, and well-known humorist. His *Phoenixiana*, which went through many editions and more printings, is the subject of an attractive study by George R. Stewart.[95]

Cave Johnson Couts, another West Pointer, arrived in Southern California as lieutenant of the First United States Dragoons in 1848. There he fell in with the family of Juan Bandini, whose wide land holdings and great herds of cattle permitted him to be the "social lion of the far south of California" and with whom he became associated in land and cattle deals while remaining an officer in the army. In 1851 Johnson married a daughter of Bandini and sister-in-law of Abel Stearns, the near-millionaire owner of numerous ranchos and Los Angeles property. After his marriage Johnson resigned his commission and settled down on his Guajome rancho of 2,219 acres between Los Angeles and San Diego. He added to his holdings until they reached 20,000 acres but failed to win confirmation of his Soledad claim.[96]

Yet another government employee whose voyage to California was made possible by public funds and who married into one of the area's chief land-owning families was Stephen Clark Foster. Foster was sent to California in 1847 as interpreter with the Mormon Battalion. He was soon chosen by the people of Los Angeles as alcalde, member of the Constitutional Convention and the state senate, and mayor of Los Angeles. He married María Merced Lugo, unsuccessful claimant for San Pascual, the 14,402-acre grant on which the city of Pasadena later was established. Members of the Lugo family held three ranchos containing 71,606 acres confirmed and patented to them.[97]

Dr. John S. Griffin, a United States army surgeon, arrived in California in 1846 with General Kearny. His first investment in land was undertaken with Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and Captain John B. Frisbie in the Napa Valley while he was stationed at Benicia. The joint-ownership included 640 acres with an adobe house, a garden, fruit trees, and forty acres under fence. Griffin's efforts to withdraw from the service were fruitless for a time. He was transferred to Southern California but in 1854 succeeded in having his resignation accepted. His private medical practice brought him large returns and enabled him to purchase 2,000 acres in what became East Los Angeles and in 1860 a half-interest in the San Pascual rancho. Griffin sold off a portion of his half and in 1873 sold the remaining 4,000 acres for $25,000 to a settlement group.[98]

We have seen that a number of exciting sales of city lots occurred in pre-Gold Rush San Francisco in June and July, 1847, because the city had already received considerable attention from army and navy officers and com-

Between 1847 and 1849, streets named for speculators like Folsom, Bryant, Hyde, and Brannan entered the map. (Circles mark various lots in the Leidesdorff estate.)

On July 2, 1850, the Alta California *scored the city of San Francisco for being the country's "worst governed" city by permitting public lands to fall "a prey to speculators long before the discovery of gold" through the "grossest outrages and mal-practice of office."*

mercial leaders.[99] Some 450 parcels of beach and submerged lots, mostly covered at flood-tide, were offered and drew "spirited competition," reported the San Francisco *Californian* of July 24, 1847. It is noteworthy that E. C. Kemble claimed that purchasers had formed a ring limiting competition consisting of a small group of "merchants, Army and Navy officers (buying, of course, by proxy), and speculators who had just come out" who purchased the lots at prices ranging from $50 to $600. Certainly San Francisco offered marvelous opportunity to speculate, for the site was certain to be the commercial center of the Pacific Coast. In mid-1847 generous credit terms permitted buying with little cash down.[100]

The New York Regiment of Volunteers had just arrived in California when a major sale of San Francisco lots was held. Most of the officers, including Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson in command, joined in the rush to purchase lots, and one man, Captain and Assistant Quartermaster Joseph L. Folsom, was accused of being a leading member of the ring that held down competition. Folsom acquired an interest in twenty lots purchased at the sale and doubtless held others bought by persons working with him.[101] Others buying at these exciting commercial times were Thomas O. Larkin, Henry Mellus, Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, Captain John B. Montgomery who was in command of the *Portsmouth*, and three future senators, John C. Frémont, David Broderick, and John B. Weller, as has been seen. Taking note of these circumstances, the *Alta California* on July 2, 1850, scored the city of San Francisco for being the "worst governed" city by permitting its public lands to fall "a prey to speculators long before the discovery of gold . . .," through the "grossest outrages and mal-practice of office." Another observer blamed Larkin and William Leidesdorff and other speculators for having gained ownership of most of the lots.[102]

William H. Warner, who arrived in California in 1846 as captain of the Topographical Engineers with General Kearny, later managed to free himself of his military duties and go with Sherman to the mines. There he profited to the tune of $1,500 from merchandising operations and was hired by Sutter at $33.33 a day with keep to survey a town at the fort. Previously he had purchased a 50- and a 100-vara lot in San Francisco, and with Captain Joseph L. Folsom and Charles L. Ross he acquired an interest in one of the largest and most promising investments in lots at the Golden Gate. When Warner was killed in an engagement with Indians in the mountains shortly afterwards, his brother willingly journeyed from Rochester, New York, to settle up what must have been a most promising estate.[103]

Another early comer to San Francisco was Washington A. Bartlett who served on the *Portsmouth* with Lieutenants Missroon and Revere. He arrived at Yerba Buena, as it was then called, in 1845. Bartlett remained in the navy at least until 1855, but well before then he had begun accumulating San Francisco lots including two 100-vara lots, one 50-vara lot and six beach and water lots. Bartlett also served as alcalde in 1847–1847, possibly while on leave from the navy.

Other army and navy officers who invested in California land and lots and whose investments were handled by William Tecumseh Sherman through his management of a San Francisco bank were Thomas Swords, major and quartermaster under General Kearny; General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, in charge of American troops in California from 1852–1854; and Commodore John D. Sloat. No information is available about the size of their commitments.[104]

While many military officers on furlough or on official duty visited the mines, set up stores, mined, and ran surveys, one high official fell into trouble in the midst of the Gold Rush from which he never fully recovered. Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones had the misfortune to be charged with unlawfully using government funds to speculate in gold dust, from which he seemed to have made a profit of $8,000, and otherwise misusing his authority by "scandalous conduct tending to the destruc-

By 1852, San Francisco's real estate speculation opportunities spread to the north and west across still-barren sand hills and suspiciously far out into Bay marshes and the tide-covered Bay bottom.


MAP
of the city of
SAN FRANCISCO.
full and complete to the present date.
Compiled by
WM. EDDY.
City Surveyor.
January 15th 1850
Public Square
Public Square
Clarke's Point
Pacific Wharf
Market St Wharf
Long Wharf
Howard St Wharf
Folsom St Wharf
Mission Point
Market
Mission
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tion of good morals." He was found guilty of this and miscellaneous charges and was sentenced to suspension from the navy for five years without pay. Part of his punishment was later remitted.[105] In contrast Commodore Jones and Major Persifer F. Smith were able to use their influence to bring naval headquarters and a quartermaster's supply depot to Benicia where they had major interests.[106]

While many political, military, and naval officials speculated substantially in land while they were on the public payroll and, in some instances, favored legislation that directly or indirectly enhanced the value of their property, some other officials apparently refrained from participating in these questionable practices. Among them were most members of the state judiciary including Davis S. Terry, United States judges Isaac S. K. Ogier and Ogden Hoffman, but excluding Hall McAllister, and military and naval officers including Generals Kearny, Richard B. Mason, and Bennett Riley.[107] This is not to say that those whose names do not appear in this study of "carpetbaggers" successfully held their pecuniary instinct in check, but merely that their commitments did not become notorious.

In exploring the land speculations which numerous public officials and members of the armed forces entered into when they reached California, the intent has not been to throw stones. Even officials who strove to secure legislation that would profit them directly or indirectly may not have been influenced solely by the benefits they stood to gain. Yet it is interesting to note that Sherman, in casting up his final judgment on Col. Richard B. Mason, whom he greatly admired, claimed that Mason was urged to "use his position to make a fortune for himself and his friends; but he never bought land or town lots. . . . He never took a title to a town-lot, unless it was one of no real value. . . ." In a similar apologetic vein Commodore Stockton's biographer would have us believe that the commodore's delicacy of feeling and sense of dignity of his office kept him from taking advantage of the opportunities in which others were sharing. As we have seen, the biographer's attribution of such sensitivities to Stockton washes out as nonsense, but for both Stockton and Sherman one senses that they felt personally and ongoingly demeaned by their participation in the rush for land and lots which permitted military, naval, and even political figures to speculate for personal gain while officially representing the United States government.[108]

All the illustrations are from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. *New Orleans Delta* in *Alta California*, December 29, 1849; R. V. P. Steele [Lately Thomas], *Between Two Empires: The Life Story of California's First Senator* (Boston, 1969), p. 10ff. Because this author discussed John C. Frémont's land investments in California in "The Frémont-Jones Scramble For California Land Claims," *Southern California Historical Quarterly*, 51 (Spring, 1974): 13–44, this paper will focus on Senators Gwin, Broderick, and Weller.
2. Mary E. Young, *Redskins, Ruffleshirts and Rednecks: Indian Allotments in Alabama and Mississippi* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1961), p. 53ff.
3. The majority and minority reports of a House Select Committee to investigate payments of a number of questionable claims are in *House Reports*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., vol. 3, serial 585, no. 489, and *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, part II, pp. 1209–1237. For discussion of the resolution leading to the appointment of the select committee, see the *Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., *passim*.
4. Paul W. Gates, "California's Embattled Settlers," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 41 (June, 1962): 103–106.
5. *Sacramento Bee*, October 24, 1869. The *Bee* observed that the Gwins asked a large price for their Spanish grants.
6. *Transcript of Record*, Mary E. H. Gwin and Miers F. Truett, Appellants, vs. The United States, October 1900.
7. *Sacramento Bee*, July 16, 1862, citing the *Merced Banner; Marysville Daily Evening Herald*, August 10, September 6, 1853. In a report of the California surveyor general for 1871 in the Appendix to the *Legislative Journal*, 19th Session, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 99, it is reported that 100 acres had been planted to cotton "on the old Gwin ranch."
8. *Sacramento Bee*, May 22, June 4, 1858.
9. Steele, *Between Two Empires*, 285. Gwin was charged by the

Marysville Daily Evening Herald of August 10, September 6, 1853, with favoring the southern route for the proposed Pacific railroad (by way of the Colorado crossing, the San Joaquin River and Suisun Bay) because it would enhance the value of his property interests: "The Senator, like a great many other modern patriots, has an eye to the filling of his own pockets in his labor of love for the public good." The *Herald* naturally preferred the South Pass route by way of the Beckwourth Pass.

10. Thomas P. Burns, "The Oldest Street in San Francisco," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 13 (September, 1934): 235ff.
11. *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., May 12, 1858, p. 2069.
12. *Senate Reports*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., no. 389, serial 994. Lawrence Kinnard, *History of the Greater San Francisco Region*, 1:528ff., brings out that the Lime Point area was purchased by the government for $125,000 in 1866, but he does not say whether it included the same amount of land.
13. The Cave Couts manuscript collection in the Huntington Library, San Marino, throws some light on the Lime Point affair. Throckmorton, who bought Lime Point from Richardson with its encumbrance of $130,000, was in debt to Couts as early as 1855. Couts had difficulty collecting the debt and was concerned that the Lime Point sale to the government go through because it offered him some assurance of payment of the debt. His correspondence with James A. McDougall and others from 1855 to 1860 shows his hope of making the collection from the results of the sale. More than a year after the Senate committee had made its report, in which it found no evidence of fraud (though the minority headed by the vindictive Broderick reported the price altogether out of line with current values), Couts wrote that funds would not be forthcoming for the purchase of LimePoint and for the payment to him of Throckmorton's debt "until Covode has expired." McDougall to Couts, June 13, November 18, 1860.
14. Steele, *Between Two Empires*, 248, 285.

    In 1875 former Senator Gwin was working with Collis P. Huntington, of the "Big Four" who were building the Southern Pacific Railroad, to lobby in Washington to make sure that the Senate's railroad committee would be critical of the plan Tom Scott was working on to gain a land grant for the Texas and Pacific Railroad. To Huntington's distress Gwin failed in his effort. However, Huntington then arranged for him to travel through the South, especially Texas, Mississippi, and Alabama, to create sentiment hostile to the land grant. Gwin was urged to use the utmost care not to appear as a representative of the Big Four. Huntington was quite incensed that he had come East as a guest of the SP on its private car. At this late time Huntington declared that Gwin was "very obnoxious" to Republicans. Collis P. Huntington to David Colton, November 10, 11, 13, December 22, 23, 26, 1875, and January 3, and February 26, 1876, all reproduced in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 23, 1883. Huntington reported that Senator Aaron A. Sargent, who was generally in the camp of the Big Four, was troubled that Gwin was employed to look after the railroad interests in Washington.
15. Jeremiah Lynch, *A Senator of the Fifties: David C. Broderick of California* (San Francisco, 1911), 64; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, 4 vols. (San Francisco, 1885–1897), 3:409; David A. Williams, *David C. Broderick: A Political Portrait* (San Marino, California, 1969), p. 50; Edgar H. Adams, "Private Gold Coinage," *American Journal of Numismatics*, 45 (July, 1911): 174–178.
16. L. E. Friedman, "Broderick: A Reassessment," *Pacific Historical Review*, 30 (February, 1961): 40n, 46; Robert Maxwell Brown, "Pivot of American Vigilantism: The San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856," in John A. Carroll, *Reflections of Western Historians* (Tucson, 1969), pp. 108–112.
17. Alfred Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1852), Schedules D. E, and F, *passim*. Cf. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco, 1884–1890), 6:676–677, 773, 757; and Hittell, *History of California*, 3:256ff.
18. I refer to Friedman, "Broderick: A Reassessment," p. 41ff., and Williams, *David C. Broderick*. Williams follows Bancroft in presenting Broderick as a high-minded man concerned with the evils of slavery and favorable to land reform. He neglects his extensive speculation in San Francisco beach and water lots and missed J. L. Folsom's letter of January, 1852, to A. C. Peachy which elaborated on Broderick's purchase of lots and the political implications which led him to criticize publicly what he and others had done privately. Leidesdorff Papers, The Huntington Library.
19. Friedman, "Broderick: A Reassessment," 40. Oscar T. Shuck, *History of the Bench and Bar of California* (Los Angeles, 1901), pp. 209–212, gives the appraisal of Broderick's real estate at $242,896 and personal property at $6,409. David A. Williams, "The Forgery of the Broderick Will," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 40 (September, 1961): 204, gives the total appraised value at approximately $300,000 in 275 parcels of land, as does the *Eureka Humboldt Times*, January 11, 1862.
20. Frederick B. Kohler, Broderick's partner in real estate investments, was also "coiner for the United States" in February, 1851, and in 1853 was "assayer" in the San Francisco Mint. Leroy Armstrong and J. O. Denny, *Financial California* (San Francisco, 1916), p. 80, and *United States Register*, 1853, p. 30.
21. Copy in Bancroft Library. The sale was postponed twice because of evidence that a will dredged up in Washington proved to be partly, if not entirely, forged. David A. Williams, who studied efforts to probate the will, found that despite the evidence of forgery in the will, the state supreme court insisted that the original decision of the probate court stand, upholding it could not be reversed, as the district court had done, for tech-

nical reasons. He also found that the property was sold at prices far below actual values to the father of the influential D. D. Colton. *Sacramento Bee*, January 2, 1862; Williams, "The Forgery of the Broderick Will," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 40:203–214.

22. *Journal of the California Assembly*, 10th Session, 1859, p. 45; Paul W. Gates, "California's Embattled Settlers," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 41 (June, 1962): 111–115.
23. *Alta California*, August 4, 1857; Alfred Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco, passim.* One might speculate of the possibility that at the same sale of Peter Smith lots, one J. B. Teller may have been mistakenly listed in place of J. B. Weller.
24. Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, "The Confederate Minority in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 20 (June, 1941): 167.
25. Paul W. Gates, "The California Land Act of 1851," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 50 (December, 1971): 401. Felch was mentioned in 1855 as a likely candidate for a place on the state supreme court, along with sixteen others. George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Papers*, 10 vols. and index (Berkeley, 1951–1968), 10:185.
26. *Sacramento Bee*, April 24, 1857, and February 1, 1859. Strangely, in 62 *U.S. Reports*, 409, Felch and Benham appear on the side of the grantee under the general title of Sutter and against the United States. Sutter had 11 leagues confirmed to him but the 22-league claim was rejected. 62 *U.S. Reports*, 171.
27. Claudius B. Grant, "Life and Character of Alpheus Felch," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Historical Collections*, 28 (Lansing, 1900): 94–104.
28. *Senate Reports*, 48 Cong., 2 sess., vol. 2, serial 2274, pp. 2, 96–101.
29. 63 *U.S. Reports*, 296; *Larkin Papers*, 10:270; Bancroft, *History of California*, 6:690. Brent owned for a time the 2,219-acre Aguaje del Centinela in Los Angeles County. W. W. Robinson, *Ranchos Become Cities* (Pasadena, 1939), p. 136.
30. *Sacramento Bee*, October 29 and December 2, 1863. Brent was principal attorney for the great rancheros of Southern California in the defense of their titles, and in 1856 he was a leader with de la Guerra and Wilson in the unsuccessful fight to defeat settlers' measures to give occupancy rights to squatters and to raise taxes on large ownerships of land. Senator Gwin, on the other hand, had favored measures to protect squatters' rights. Higley had been surveyor-general of California in the Pierce administration, and when replaced by James W. Mandeville he was elected state surveyor-general. It was during his period in this office that procedures were worked out to enable speculators to file for state swamp lands before they had been segregated and the federal government notified of their selection. Higley had acquired a portion of the Peralta grant in present Berkeley. Mary Tennent Carleton, "The Byrnes of Berkeley," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 17 (March, 1938): 42.
31. 49 *U.S. Reports*, 113; and 50 *U.S. Reports*, 72.
32. *Alta California*, June 1, 1876; 98 *U.S. Reports*, 61. Howard's agreement with Charles Weber for the prosecution of the Campo de los Franceses 11-league claim provided that when he succeeded in getting the patent he was to have 123 lots and fourteen blocks in Stockton, 1,740 acres outside Stockton, and $310. Weber was not to be responsible for any costs. Agreement of December 19, 1855, in 1 Miscellaneous, *San Joaquin County*, 217. His fee in the Sutter case was to be 10 per cent of all the land he won. Although Howard won for Sutter 48,389 acres, troubles with squatters and with the city of Sacramento made it difficult to profit as had been expected. Samuel Lanner Kreider, "Volney Erskine Howard: California Pioneer," Historical Society of Southern California, *Quarterly*, 31 (March and June, 1949): 122–123.
33. Of those who had been members of the commission or were on the government side for a time in the litigation, Thornton with a partner took on the most cases, including seventeen litigated before Ogden Hoffman.
34. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, August 1, 1856.
35. Scattered references to Howard appear in Bancroft, Hoffman, Soulé's *Annals of San Francisco*, and other accounts, but their emphasis is mostly upon his opposition to vigilantism in San Francisco. Howard's lands included the Las Tunas rancho in San Gabriel. Hoover, et al, *Historic Spots in California*, 149.
36. *House Reports*, serial 407, no. 10, serial 445, no. 289, and serial 489, no. 274;
37. Viola Lockhart Warren, ed., "Dr. John S. Griffin's Mail, 1846–53," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 34 (March, 1955): 24.
38. 64 *U.S. Reports*, 330 and 70 *U.S. Reports*, 767; Merced County Deeds, A:274; William N. Brigance *Jeremiah Sullivan Black* (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 141. In a most interesting letter of September 4, 1856, written from Washington, D.C., Pacificus Ord wrote his friend Abel Stearns that the attorney-general, Caleb Cushing, had assured him that Ord would have instructions to dismiss all land cases coming up in the southern district which had been decided against the United States. This assurance Ord had secured with the aid of Senator John B. Weller. Ord urged Stearns to tell owners of claims that they should get their cases before the district court in the December term as he wished to sweep the docket clean as soon as possible. Stearns *Papers*, Huntington Library, San Marino.
39. 70 *U.S. Reports*, 767.
40. Robert J. Parker, "William McGarrahan's Panoche Grande Claim," *Pacific Historical Review*, 5 (September, 1936): 212–221.
41. Diary of E.O.C. Ord, 1856, p. 96, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
42. *House Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., serial 573, no. 17, p. 24.
43. Having won confirmation of Cienega de Gabilan and secured the patent, Carr is said to have turned around and sworn that the

grant was fraudulent in order to avoid his attorney's fee. *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, March 8, 1876.

44. J. D. Carr, Salinas, to David Jacks, April 24, 1862; Jacks, San Francisco, to Isaac Hartman, December 8, 1865; and letter of M. C. Ireland, of which first page is missing, all in Jacks Papers, Huntington Library.
45. *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, January 8, 1876; John S. Hittell, *The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America* (San Francisco, 1882), pp. 259–260. Judicial proceedings were pending against the Jesse D. Carr Livestock Co. for maintaining an unlawful enclosure on 8,000 acres of public land in Klamath County, Oregon. General Land Office, *Annual Report*, 1901, pp. 74, 93.
46. M. A. De Wolfe Howe, *Home Letters of General Sherman* (New York, 1909), p. 106.
47. *Larkin Papers*, 6:101.
48. Jacob Wright Harlan, *California '46 to '88* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 110. Frémont had acquired a 100-vara lot and a 50-vara lot on January 16, 1847; Captain Montgomery and his two sons had three 50-vara lots; Missroon and Warner each had one 50-vara lot; Folsom's real estate deals are covered elsewhere. Leidesdorff acquired thirty-nine lots, of which he owned six by the time Harlan reports. All data from Wheeler, *Land Titles*.
49. The conveyance of Forbes to Stockton of September 23, 1847, is in the Halleck Peachy & Billings Papers in The Bancroft Library. This places the completion of the deal subsequent to Stockton's departure for the East.
50. Stockton's conservatism is best shown, perhaps, in his opposition to government aid for a transcontinental railroad and for the building of a floating drydock in San Francisco Bay. *Cong. Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., May 28, 1852, pp. 1502–1504 and 32 Cong., 2 sess., Dec. 22, 1852, p. 126. William Rich Hutton, whose *Glances at California* has been useful in this paper, speaks on p. 67 of Stockton as "gasey Bob" (no doubt because of his bombastic proclamations) and of his "miserable little skirmish of San Gabriel" to which Stockton alluded in his speech on the petition to allow flogging in the navy. The most satisfactory account of the Stockton and Frémont conflict with General Kearny is Theodore Grivas, *Military Governments in California, 1848–1850* (Glendale, 1963).
51. Eighteen acres and a house were sold on January 1, 1855, for $5,651 to O. Bandeleben. Documents of sale in California File, The Huntington Library. Claims on nearby land were selling for $500 to $2000 for 160 acres, though land near Santa Clara sold for $10 to $100 an acre. Mary Jean Elliott, "The California Journal of M. V. B. Fowler," *Southern California Quarterly*, 40 (September, 1968): 230ff.
52. *Official Report of the California State Agricultural Society's Fourth Annual Fair, 1857* (San Francisco, 1858), 45–46; *Weekly Alta California*, August 25, 1860.
53. Charles Gregory Crampton, "The Opening of the Mariposa Mining Region, 1849–1859, with Particular Reference to the Mexican Land Grant of John Charles Fremont," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1941, pp. 170–171.
54. Stephen Bonsal, *Edward Fitzgerald Beale: A Pioneer in the Path of Empire, 1822–1903* (New York, 1912), pp. 60–62.
55. Mason to General R. Jones, in *House Ex. Doc.*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., serial 573, p. 531.
56. [Samuel J. Bayard] *A Sketch of the Life of Com. Robert F. Stockton* (New York, 1856), p. 157. Stockton's tendency to equate his own personal interests with those of the public, a not uncommon fault among public officials of the nineteenth century, and his extensive land speculations are shown in Glenn W. Price, *Origins of the War with Mexico: The Polk-Stockton Intrigue* (Austin, Texas, 1967), pp. 50–55.
57. J. S. Missroon to Larkin, Norfolk, Virginia, March, n.d., 1851, *Larkin Papers*, 8:411.
58. Alfred Wheeler, *Land Titles, passim*; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Register of Pioneer Inhabitants of California, 1542–1848* (Los Angeles, 1964), p. 792, hereafter cited as *Pioneer Register*.
59. Robert Cunningham Miller, "The California Academy of Sciences and the Early History of Science in the West," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 21 (December, 1942): 365; Doyce B. Nunis, editor, *The San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856* (Los Angeles, 1971), p. 100; Jack Mason, *Early Marin* (Petaluma, 1971), p. 141. Hetherington had also been in difficulty with the Committee of Vigilance of 1851. George R. Stewart, *Committee of Vigilance; Revolution in San Francisco, 1851*. (Boston, 1964), pp. 170, 190.
60. Beale, Monterey, to Abel Stearns, October 4, 1849, Stearn Papers, The Huntington Library.
61. Beale, Sebastian Reserve, Tejon Valley, to Bayard Taylor, June 25, 1854, Taylor Papers, Olin Library, Cornell University.
62. Beale to Taylor, June 25, 1854, Olin Library, Cornell University.
63. Report of E. F. Beale to G. W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, February 8, 1854, in *House Ex. Doc.*, 33 Cong., 2 sess., vol. 1, part 1, serial 777, pp. 506–508; Helen S. Giffen and Arthur Woodward, *The Story of El Tejon* (Los Angeles, 1942), pp. 18–43.
64. Francis P. Farquhar, *Up and Down in California in 1860–1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer* (Berkeley, 1966), pp. 386–387; Giffen and Woodward, *Story of El Tejon*, 44–46.
65. As early as December 10, 1862, Beale had bought of the United States an 80-acre tract containing Willow Springs in the Antelope Valley, east of La Liebre.
66. Bancroft, *California*, VII: 55; Earle Crowe, *Men of El Tejon: Empire in the Tehachapis* (Los Angeles, 1957), pp. 154–157.
67. Thompson and West, *History of Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties* (reprinted by Howell-North, 1961), p. 213, says that Beale held 300 shares of the much disputed Buenaventura Mis-

sion grant and names other holders of shares as follows: B. G. Whiting, ex-U.S. district attorney, 53 shares; T. G. Phelps, collector, 195 shares; L. Upson, ex-U.S. surveyor general, 208 shares; E. Conway, ex-chief clerk of surveyor general, 1,761 shares; S. J. Field, circuit judge, 521 shares; and Jeremiah S. Black, ex-U.S. attorney general, 130 shares.

68. Giffin and Woodward, *Story of El Tejon*, 49.
69. For the grants by Colton and maps showing their locations and the protest of Halleck, see *House Ex. Doc.*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., vol. 5, serial 573, no. 17, pp. 169–174 and map opposite 944. Walter Colton and William T. Sherman give different dates for the arrival of the *Independence*. Colton, *Three Years in California* (New York, 1850), p. 103; William T. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2 vols. (New York, 1875), 1:18. Larkin, as an American official and one familiar with Monterey, might well have joined in protest against the efforts of Shubrick and Bailey to gain ownership of such strategically located lots, but he was courting them to establish naval headquarters at Benicia and was a beneficiary of other acts of theirs and appears to have maintained silence about the lots. Donald Munro Craig, editor, *William Robert Garner: Letters from California, 1846–1847* (Berkeley, 1970), 195n, brings out that the lots thus improperly acquired were eventually recovered by the government.
70. Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco, passim*; Bancroft, *History of California*, 6:196, and Bancroft, *Pioneer Register*, 292; *Cong. Glob.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., February 12, 1853, pp. 599–600; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11 vols., (New York, 1963), 8:214–215; *Larkin Papers*, 8:229; Hittell, *History of California*, 3:379–402, especially 392; A. Barry and B. A. Patten, *Men and Memories of San Francisco in the Spring of '50* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1873), p. 230.
71. *Alta California*, April 2, 1880.
72. Joseph Warren Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California*, edited by Joseph N. Balestier (Boston, 1849), and the same author, *Keel and Saddle: A Retrospect of Forty Years of Military and Naval History* (Boston, 1872), p. 160ff.; Madie Brown Emparan, *The Vallejos of California* (San Francisco, 1968), p. 61. In his rambling and controversial *Life of the Late Rear Admiral John Drake Sloat* (Oakland, California, 1902), p. xxx, Edwin A. Sherman states that Revere went to Mexico in 1850 to reside on a rich hacienda "he had secretly purchased during the war through trusty agents" which he proposed to develop for agriculture and stock raising.
73. In the Marin Deeds is a second conveyance of one-half of the San Gerónimo rancho to Francis Price of Hoboken, New Jersey. Marin Deeds, 160.
74. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8:513.
75. Letters of Missroon of September 2, November 28, December 21, 1847, in *Larkin Papers*, 6:309, 7:81, 101, 151.
76. *Larkin Papers*, 9:90, 111, 234; 59 *U.S. Reports*, 564. Two members of the court opposed confirmation.
77. *Larkin Papers*, 7:183.
78. Wm. S. Charnley, New York, to Larkin, January 31, 1851, *Larkin Papers*, 10:375. Some intriguing information appears concerning an effort to avoid paying the usual customs duties on a prize ship condemned by a court of admiralty in which the charge is made that Colton profited by a share in commissions. Talbot Green to Larkin, December 29, 1855, *ibid.*, 104–105. While he was serving in the navy, Colton wrote poetry which *Graham's Magazine* published in 1843 and 1844. A biographical sketch appears in *Graham's Magazine*, 26:277–279.
79. *Pioneer Register*, 176; Grivas, *Military Government in California, 1846–1850*, 115.
80. *Senate Ex. Doc.*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., vol. iii, serial 589, no. 18, pp. 133–136.
81. Halleck contract for the purchase of the land dated only May, 1850; Halleck to de la Guerra, October 3, 1850, and March 1, 1852, de la Guerra Papers, xeróx copies in The Huntington Library, and "Record of Decisions" of the Board of Land Commissioners, vol. iii, case no. 270, Huntington Library.
82. *Alta California*, March 14, 1850.
83. In the eighteen months he had practiced in California before Congress had created the Land Commission to try the claims, one lawyer had acquired sixteen separate tracts in compensation for legal work done for their owners. Among these tracts were some that were later denied patent, but the one-fourth interest in the Huecos rancho of 39,951 acres in Santa Clara County brought $17,500 when finally sold in 1871. This man—James McHall Jones—was the first judge appointed for the Southern District of California, but he died late in 1851, having held the appointment for less than a year and having not been able to conduct a session of the court. George Cosgrave, *Early California Justice: The History of the United States District Court for the Southern District of California, 1849–1944*, edited by Roy V. Sowers (San Francisco, 1948), p. 19ff.
84. Milton H. Shutes, "Henry Wager Halleck, Lincoln's Chief of Staff," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 16 (September, 1937): 200. Frederick Billings (later president of the Northern Pacific Railroad and donor of the Billings Library of the University of Vermont), acquired as a partner of Halleck 8,870 acres of the Novato grant in Marin County and 3/10 of the 35,532-acre rancho of Alpheus Thompson in San Joaquin and Stanislaus counties. Between 1858 and 1862, Halleck, Peachy & Billings was selling this land in both large and small lots for prices ranging from $1 to $5 an acre. Deed Records, Stanislaus County.
85. References to undercover bidding for lots at the sales of 1847–50 in San Francisco appear frequently. See John Henry Brown, *Early Days of San Francisco, California* (Oakland, 1949), 123; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 5:365; and Keyes, *Fifty Years*.
86. Howe, *Home Letters of General Sherman*, 98, 106–8.
87. William Redmond Ryan, *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower*

California in 1848–9, 2 vols. (London, 1850), I:282–284, 294. Disappointed when his army group reached Monterey not to find Col. Mason, Ryan later wrote: "[Mason] was reported to be away on government business; but no doubt was entertained of the real purpose of his journey to the mines, namely to speculate in gold, which at this time could be bought there for a fourth of its real value in coined money."

88. Sherman to Lieutenant E. O. C. Ord, October 28 and November 14, 1848, written from a camp on the American Fork near Sutters, published under the title W. T. Sherman, *The California Gold Fields in 1848* (n.d.n.p.). The letters were written on Sherman's second trip to the mines.
89. From other surveying near Benicia, Sherman reported making $1,000. Sherman, *Memoirs*, I:33, 58–59, 64, 67, 73–77.
90. Sherman to J. D. Stevenson, May 31, 1849, Stevenson Papers, University of California, Los Angeles.
91. Conveyance of G. B. Post & Co. of San Francisco, July 16, 1855, to William T. Sherman of Lucas, Turner & Co., 1 Stanislaus Deeds, 22; I Miscellaneous Deeds, San Joaquin County, 366. By the latter deed Sherman conveyed 241 acres of Campo de la Franceses for $1,209.
92. Dwight L. Clarke, *William Tecumseh Sherman, Gold Rush Banker* (San Francisco, 1969), pp. 38, 308, 368.
93. Ryan, *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower California in 1848-9*, 1:308.
94. Willaim Rich Hutton, in *Glances at California, 1847–1853*, p. 75, says that Jimeno "is frightened to death, almost fearful that his daughters will marry Protestants; and he will not attempt to speculate with his money, lest the Protestants should cheat him out of it." Hutton adds that the "person who cheated him out of his ranchos" was recommended to Jimeno by a priest of Georgetown.
95. John Phoenix, Esq., *The Veritable Squibob: A Life of Captain George H. Derby U.S.A.* (New York, 1937), especially pp. 81, 96, 99, 101, 135, 138.
96. Henry F. Dobyns, *Hepah, California! The Journal of Cave Johnson Couts from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico to Los Angeles, California During the Years 1848–1849* (Tucson, Arizona, 1961), p. 97ff.; Leonard Pitt, *Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1840–1890* (Berkeley, 1970), *passim*.
97. *Pioneer Register*, 148; W. W. Robinson, *Land in California* (Berkeley, 1948), p. 73ff.
98. Viola Lockhart Warren, "Dr. John S. Griffin's Mail, 1846–1853," part iii, *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 34 (March, 1955): 25–26; Robert Glass Cleland, *Cattle on a Thousand Hills* (San Marino, 1951), p. 79; W. W. Robinson, *Land in California*, 87–90.
99. Bruno Fritzsche, "San Francisco, 1846–1848: The Coming of the Land Speculator," *California Historical Quarterly*, 51 (Spring, 1972): 17–34, is a promising beginning study of the real estate business in the Bay City.
100. *Californian*, July 24, 1847; Frank Soulé, et al, *The Annals of San Francisco*, revised edition (Palo Alto, 1966), pp. 179–183; Fred B. Rogers, editor, *A Kemble Reader: Stories of California, 1846–1848*, by Edward C. Kemble (San Francisco, 1963), pp. 114–115.
101. The extensive speculations in city lots and ranchos of Colonel D. Stevenson, Joseph L. Folsom, and other officers of the First Regiment of New York Volunteers who reached California in 1847 are discussed in Gates, "Jonathan D. Stevenson and the New York Volunteers" in *The Westerners Brand Book*, no. 14, Los Angeles Corral, 1974, pp. 122–145.
102. Henry P. Richardson, Yerba Buena, to Abel Stearns, July 23, 1847, Stearns Papers, The Huntington Library.
103. Sherman, *Memoirs*, I:33; *Pioneer Register*, 376; Hittell, *History of California*, 2:733; "Excerpts from Last Diary of William H. Warner," *The University of Rochester Library Bulletin*, 18 (Autumn, 1962): 15.
104. Clarke, *William Tecumseh Sherman, passim*.
105. *National Intelligencer*, June 1, 1858; Udolpho Theodore Bradley, "The Contentious Commodore Thomas AP Catesby Jones of the Old Navy, 1788–1858," Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1933, 195–209. The proceedings of the courts martial involving Jones are in United States Serial Documents, nos. 591 and 685.
106. "The Land Business of Thomas O. Larkin," *California Historical Quarterly*, 54 (Winter, 1973): 335–336.
107. Originally I included Matthew Hall McAllister, federal circuit judge for the Pacific Coast states and territories, whose salary, interestingly, was less than that of Ogden Hoffman, district judge for Northern California, but I am not so certain now. McAllister, as lieutenant in charge of the arsenal at Benicia in 1851, was appointed as circuit judge in 1855 and resigned in 1862. The most important case coming before him involved the title to the New Almaden quicksilver mine and surrounding land, all having great value. Somewhere along the line McAllister bought with Joseph K. Irving a part of the Peralta claim in present Oakland, possibly in 1853. Kenneth M. Johnson, *The New Almaden Mine* (Georgetown, California, 1963), 66; Bancroft, *California*, 7:237; Lawrence Kinnaird, *History of the Greater San Francisco Bay Region*, 3 vols. (New York, 1966), I:496.
108. Sherman, *Memoirs*, I:64; *Sketch of the Life of Com. Robert F. Stockton*, 157. Sherman says Mason "was honest to a fault." It appears from Clarke, *William Tecumseh Sherman*, p. 31, that Sherman was wrong about Mason, for Clarke has him making "profitable investments" in California property which were left in Sherman's hands for management when both men left for the east in 1854.



Laura Adams Armer in 1935

Laverne Mau Dicker

Laura Adams Armer

California photographer

Women have been serious photographers since the process of making images by exposing chemicals to light became popular in the mid-nineteenth century. Constance Talbot, wife of William Henry Fox Talbot, inventor of the calotype or photograph on paper, learned photography from her husband and probably became the first in the long line of women who sought to express their personal visions of the world through the photographic medium. By the end of the nineteenth century, photographers such as Julia Margaret Cameron, Berenice Abbott, Frances Benjamin Johnston, and Gertrude Kasebier had become as well-known and respected as their male counterparts.[1]

In the West, too, a number of women gained fame as serious photographers, perhaps the best-known being Imogen Cunningham. While Cunningham was still a high-school student in Seattle, however, another remarkable young woman had already established her own photography studio in downtown San Francisco. She was Laura Adams Armer, a talented and energetic woman whose abundant creative energy destined her to pursue multiple careers as photographer, artist, writer, film producer, and chronicler of Navajo folklore.

The daughter of California pioneers Charles Wilson Adams and Maria Henry Adams,[2] Laura May Adams was born in Sacramento on January 12, 1874, the youngest of three children. Educated in San Francisco public schools and, because of poor health, at home by private tutors, young Laura was an introverted, dreamy child who made up for a lack of companionship by turning her eyes to the green and gold hills of San Francisco and the natural beauty which surrounded her.[3]

Between 1893 and 1898, Armer studied painting and drawing at the California School of Design—today's San Francisco Art Institute. Instructor Arthur Mathews, San Francisco's famed master of the Decorative style, recognizing her fresh, unspoiled talent, steered her away from confining, established styles, and advised her to avoid superfluous academic training.[4]

During these years Adams also took up photography, observing airily in 1900 that "anyone of ordinary intelligence can manufacture a photograph."[5] It soon became apparent, however, that hers was no ordinary intelligence; her photographs, particularly her portraits, were rare studies in simplicity and sensitivity. Her subjects, whether male or female, aged or youthful, radiated a distinctive quiet grace.

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Boardman Robinson



Chabot children



A pensive Sidney Armer

At the time Laura Adams was learning photography, the concept of photography and particularly portraiture were undergoing tremendous upheaval and re-evaluation. For nearly forty years from the mid-1850's to the late-1880's, "art photography" was dominated by the Englishman H. P. Robinson, who treated his photographs as an artist would a painting. He first made numerous sketches, combined these into a full-scale drawing, then hired models, and selected their costumes and accessories. The result was an elaborate photographic painting on a sentimental theme which was composed of as many as nine different negatives. (His acclaimed print, "Fading Away," for example, portrayed a dying girl and her grief-stricken family in tragic poses.) Robinson's work became immensely popular (England's Prince Albert placed a standing order for a copy of every picture Robinson made), and his elaborate photographs were emulated both in Europe and the United States.[6]

Then in 1889 Dr. Peter Henry Emerson published his textbook, *Naturalistic Photography*, which "burst like a bombshell in the midst of a tea-party."[7] Emerson argued for a return to on-the-spot, honest photography and suggested that to reproduce human vision accurately, photographers should set the camera slightly out of focus. Said Emerson,

> Nothing in nature has a hard outline, but everything is seen against something else, and its outlines fade gently into that something else, often so subtly that you cannot quite distinguish where one ends and the other begins. In this . . . lies all the charm and mystery of nature.[8]

By the turn of the century, Emerson's theories had caused composite photography to wane. In its place the naturalistic school of photography—also called "pictorialism"—with its characteristic soft focus, brilliant whites, and velvety blacks began emerging in photography circles in the United States and on the continent.[9]

Although the contrived sentimentality of Robinson's photography had been cast off, social obstacles still hindered the freedom of portraiture—a fact which Laura Adams soon discovered. Men and women alike were slaves to the tyrannical master, fashion. Fashion demanded that women wear bustles, pancake hats, rings, and brooches; style compelled men to wear uniform-like dark suits, matching waistcoats, stiff white collars, and black bowties. Hence, the portrait photographer was hard-pressed to isolate individual touches of character—particularly in male subjects, whose attire was unrelieved even by color. Mourned Adams in 1900,

> A man's personality must indeed be strong if he is to be distinguished from his

brothers, for they all dress alike. . . . One would almost wish that fashion would prescribe *décolleté* for the men as well as for their sisters.[10]

Indeed, she continued, even when visible differences in personality existed, portrait photographers of the day sought to eliminate them. Her fellow artists, she complained, seemed "consumed by an inordinate desire to make things round and smooth."[11]

Advocates of the "round and smooth" school were no doubt prompted by commercial motives. Customers sitting for a portrait wished to be shown not as they looked, but as they thought they ought to look. ("What are you going to do with warts and pimples?" frankly inquired one proponent of retouching. "The sitter won't take it if they appear on the finished print."[12]) Retouching removed any trace of the sitter's uniqueness, any personal trademarks, but it pleased the patron and kept the photographer financially solvent.

A few turn-of-the-century photographers refused to produce slick, standardized portraits, and it is their work that is still remembered. Arnold Genthe, the German-born photographer who is best known for his photographs of San Francisco Chinatown, was perhaps the first photographer to take portraits that were more than mere records of existence. Instead, as he wrote, he tried to show "something of the real character and personality of the sitter."[13] Genthe used the soft-focus style of the pictorialists and, rejecting the "harshness of . . . glossy paper," employed a matte surface for the prints. Believing it important to put the subject at ease and avoid the stiff, self-conscious "studio" pose, he never permitted his subject to know the exact moment he would take the picture.

Laura Adams Armer, too, used the hazy, mystic approach inspired in part by the popular pre-Raphaelite painters and poets. Like Genthe, she shunned the impersonal "operating room" procedures used by her contemporaries, preferring to catch her subjects in an unguarded moment. Later, Imogen Cunningham was to adopt this same natural style of portrait photography.[14]

A good portrait reflects not only the subject's personality but also that of the photographer, and Armer's portraits, although similar in style to Genthe's and Cunningham's, are very distinct. While her photographs exhibit the same soft outlines, careful balance of light and shade, and "unposed" quality, there the resemblance ends. Where Cunningham's portraits seem patches of dreams captured in flight, Armer's subjects are of this world and shown in a moment of peaceful repose. Where Genthe's portraits possess an aura of political and financial strength, Armer strips off the veneer of power and reveals the humanity beneath.



Max Toklas,
father of Alice Toklas



Robert Aitken, sculptor

Chinatown Gentlemen





Anne Bremer, artist



Three women

Perhaps it was this ability to cut through surface artifice and lay bare the sitter's character that attracted the wealthy and influential to Armer's photography salon. From 1899 to 1902 she operated a studio in the Flood Building on the corner of Powell and Market streets in San Francisco that was successful both artistically and commercially, and her clients included the most important people in California society and celebrities from all over the world.

The California Historical Society's album of Armer portraits, selected by the photographer from her personal collection, contains a most impressive array of names and faces. Included in the stunning volume of portraits taken in the years 1900 to 1912 are W. H. Beatty, chief justice of the California supreme court; Mrs. John Howell, patroness of the California Historical Society and wife of the well-known rare book-dealer; David Aitken, who sculpted the Dewey Monument in San Francisco's Union Square; Anne Bremer, an *avant-garde* San Francisco artist who won a bronze medal at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition; Austin Lewis, the Socialist party's candidate for governor of California in 1906; David Farquharson, the architect who designed the San Francisco Stock Exchange Building; and James Howard Bridge, editor of the *Overland Monthly*. People of all ages from every walk of life grace the pages of her album, yet each portrait is a unique split-second assessment of the subject's inner character. Armer's creative insight and technical skill produced a beautiful photographic anthology of early twentieth-century California personages.

Armer also experimented with the autochrome process, an early form of color photography, which was introduced by French photographers August and Louis Lumière in 1907. In this process, which enjoyed twenty-five years of popularity, grains of translucent, dyed starch were used as color filters to produce an intense color image. Although the autochrome process was crude, the results were comparable in quality to color photography of a much later period,[15] and Armer made several exquisite self-portraits and San Francisco street scenes in the medium which are now held by the Oakland Museum.

Like a number of women artists of the time, twenty-eight-year-old Laura Adams willingly gave up a promising career in 1902 when she married Sidney Armer, a student at the California School of Design and a fellow protegé of Arthur Mathews. She closed her commercial studio and for many years concentrated on managing the household and seeing to the upbringing of their only child, Austin, who was born in 1903. As Austin grew older, Armer continued her photography and her art studies sporadically.

As the years went by, however, it became evident to her that something



Arthur F. Mathews, Armer's art instructor, and painter in the Decorative style

was lacking in her creative environment. She felt artistically restless and dissatisfied, later observing:

> I was successful . . . still I was not satisfied with my medium or with what I was trying to express. Then one day I received an inspiration—as if a voice had spoken. 'Don't worry,' I found myself saying out loud, 'when you are an old woman, you will write what you fail to paint.[16]

In 1923, just short of her fiftieth birthday, Laura Adams Armer re-emerged in the artistic community. Developing a strong interest in Indian folklore, she began to spend several months a year with the Navajo and Hopi in Arizona, where she painted her interpretations of tribal spiritual life, photographed the people of the reservation, and recorded their myths and legends.[17]

Armer became the first *beligaanah* (white) to have a sand-painting made for her,[18] and she was also the first white person permitted to photograph the sandpainters at work.[19] In the months that followed, Ashi, a shaman, "gave" her many more sand-paintings, which she painstakingly copied in oils. (Ashi was so impressed with her unrelenting labors that he nicknamed her, "The Hard-Working Woman," a title his tribesmen subsequently adopted. The name pleased Armer, for she considered it "neither flowery nor false."[20]) More than one hundred of Armer's copies of sandpaintings were exhibited in Santa Fe at the Rockefeller Museum, and her paintings of Indian life were shown at galleries in Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco and Chicago.[21]

Armer then produced the first Native American motion picture directed in the Indian tongue, a film which stands as one of America's most valuable documentaries of Indian life and culture. *The Mountain Chant*, a film of a nine-day Navajo healing ceremony, was shown at the American Museum of Natural History in New York in the fall of 1928.[22]

Armer's first book, *Waterless Mountain*, which was published when she was fifty-seven years old, received both the Newbery Award and the Longmans, Green & Company's prize for juvenile fiction. Congratulated on the success of her book, Armer reflected, "I've been writing books in my mind for the last thirty-five years. *Waterless Mountain* was merely the first one I put down on paper."[23]

In 1938 Armer and her husband retired to Fortuna in Humbolt County, California, but she continued to travel and write. Her later works include *Farthest West*, a children's book urging conservation of the redwoods, *Southwest*, *The Forest Pool*, *In Navajo Land*, *Dark Circle of Branches*, and many essays on the Navajos and their culture and America's desert regions. Frequently she illustrated her writings with her own photographs and drawings.



Elsie Whitaker Martinez



An Armer illustration from Waterless Mountain

Armer's pictorialist interpretation of San Francisco's Telegraph Hill





San Francisco in 1908 from the Potrero district



Another Armer view of Telegraph Hill



Laura Adams Armer died in 1963 at the age of eighty-nine, having lived a life that would be the envy of any modern-day feminist. Although she devoted more than twenty years to the close care of her family, she more than fulfilled herself artistically and intellectually. Possibly one of the finest photographers California has ever produced, she also became an accomplished artist, writer, film producer, and historian. Her epitaph might well be the words of the Navajo shaman who, viewing her paintings for the first time, exclaimed, "The white woman carries strong medicine."[24]

All the photographs are from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. See introduction to Cheryl Wiesenfeld, *et al.*, *Women See Woman: A Photographic Anthology* (New York, 1976).
2. Many of the Adams family papers, including the overland diaries of Charles Wilson Adams and Maria Henry Adams, were given to the California Historical Society by Mr. and Mrs. Armer.
3. Bertha L. Gunterman, Armer biographical note, pp. 99–104, in *Newbery Medal Books, 1922–1955*, Horn Book *Papers*, volume 1 edited by Bertha M. Miller and Elinor W. Field (Boston, 1957); hereafter cited as Gunterman, *Newbery Medal Books*.
4. Gunterman, *Newbery Medal Books*, 101.
5. Laura Adams, "The Picture Possibilities of Photography," *Overland Monthly*, September, 1900, p. 241.
6. Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography* (London, 1955), pp. 179–181.
7. *Ibid.*, 347.
8. Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present Day* (New York, 1949), p. 122.
9. L. Victoria de L'Arbre, "Photography in California, 1900–1910," *Images of El Dorado* (University of California, Davis, 1975).
10. Adams, "Picture Possibilities of Photography," p. 245.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 242.
12. Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), p. 328.
13. Arnold Genthe, *As I Remember* (New York, 1936), p. 261.
14. Margery Mann, *Imogen Cunningham: Photographs* (Seattle, 1970), pp. 6–8.
15. Terry Wm. Mangan, *Colorado on Glass* (Denver, 1975), p. 232.
16. Laura Adams Armer, *In Navajo Land* (New York, 1962), p. 11.
17. Jasmine Britton, "Waterless Mountain Wins Newbery Award," *Publisher's Weekly*, April 10, 1932, p. 1879.
18. Sand-paintings, sacred to the Navajo, were only made in connection with a religious ceremony—usually a healing ritual—held in the Medicine Lodge.
19. "The Navajo Shaman and His Sacred Sand-paintings," *Art and Archaeology*, January, 1929.
20. Armer, *In Navajo Land*, 71.
21. Gunterman, *Newbery Medal Books*, 102.
22. *Ibid.*, 102.
23. *Publisher's Weekly*, April 30, 1932, pp. 1878–1879.
24. Gunterman, *Newbery Medal Books*, 103.

John R. Thelin

CALIFORNIA

Hollywood, 1934: A director filming Budd Schulberg's *The Disenchanted* has arranged to send an entire film crew to New Hampshire to shoot scenes of college life on location at Dartmouth University. The director's assistant, annoyed at the prospect of a long trip, complains, "After all, if it's just current collegiana you want me to brush up on, I could wander around UCLA." The director snaps back, "But that's just what I don't want—UCLA—I want the richness, the fine old atmosphere of the Ivy League."[1]

Attuned to the American public's ideal that its college and university campuses appear old, preferably in the Georgian or Gothic Revival architectural style, the film director correctly sensed that a new campus like the University of California at Los Angeles could not provide a satisfactory collegiate image to his audience. His comment also reveals the persistent streak of local self-consciousness in Los Angelenos in the 1930's about UCLA's apparent lack of ivy and "historic character." Whereas Massachusetts tourist brochures boasted that Harvard University was "part of Historic Massachusetts" and Boston cafeterias sported murals of "America's Oldest University," Los Angeles guide books of the same period offered only the following apologetic commentary on the UCLA campus:

> The buildings, erected in 1929, stand on grounds thickly bordered with ice plant, but lack the ivy and venerable shade trees of older institutions of learning; the groupings of these buildings has the efficiency and orderliness possible only when a full-grown institution is transplanted to a new site.[2]

Efficiency and orderliness, admirable characteristics for a factory or a hospital, hardly provided the monuments and nostalgia which endeared a campus to its alumni and surrounding community. Schulberg's director, however, was mistaken in his appraisal of the UCLA campus, for the school's founders and planners had taken pains to link the new campus with historic universities. Although they had rejected the familiar Gothic and Georgian collegiate styles, Royce Hall, a campus land-



AND THE COLLEGES



(OVERLEAF) *Planted solidly on a rural Berkeley hillside, the campus of the University of California in 1888 symbolized the state's aspirations for an indigenous rather than imitative system of higher education.*

mark, was inspired by buildings in thirteenth-century Bologna, home of Europe's oldest university. And to make certain that the campus looked traditional, UCLA officials arranged for a 75-ton boulder to be shipped to the barren Westwood site in 1926 so that the new university would have its own "Founder's Rock."[3] If these provisions for "historical character" failed to satisfy the movie director's demands for campus color, he still need not have traveled 3000 miles to Dartmouth; California hosted numerous historic campuses—many in short driving distance of the Hollywood studios. Had the director looked for his past closer to home, he would have discovered that for years history-conscious Californians had been devoting considerable attention and resources to their alma maters.

We may be susceptible to the same oversight today. Californians of the 1970's are heirs to a rich collegiate past dating back more than a century and combining eucalyptus and ice plant with New England's ivy. Identifying this inheritance, however, requires active pursuit in which we take the trouble to look at the buildings and to dig through records and ruins of our own institutions. One obvious starting point might be to look at how some familiar colleges and universities came to acquire their present forms and personalities and to consider why matters did not turn out differently. Along with "success stories," we should seek a thorough historical picture which includes forgotten or obscure experiments and institutions important in an earlier era.

The complaint is often heard that the history of colleges and universities is largely the celebration of "ivory towers." This need not be so if imaginative sources and perspectives are used to study the campuses. Institutions of higher education have been involved with "real world" issues dear to all California citizens—civic boosterism, state pride, real estate scandals, traffic planning, fund-raising, advertising, and spectator sports. It is an erroneous notion that the historical study of educational institutions must be an idle pursuit which leads to little more than ancestor worship and hardened arteries.

In 1910, midwestern journalist Edwin Slossen wrote a series of articles on American universities. While gathering information in California he visited Palo Alto and Berkeley, where he was struck by the distinctive customs and dress of students at Stanford and the University of California. California collegians, for example, had cultivated the traditions of "campus labor day" and outdoor Grecian festivals. Slosson also made special note of the corduroy trousers worn by most of the men students as well as the custom of juniors wearing decorated "plug ugly" hats and seniors donning sombreros. Accordingly, he wrote, "I hope that the Stanford Museum is not neglecting to acquire some specimens, for they will be useful for the anthropologist as well as for the college historian of the future."[4] In another article he elaborated on his proposal:

> There should be in each university a society, or, preferably, a person, whose duty is to collect fugitive publications of all kinds, programs of clubs and festivities, posters, and declarations of interclass war, meteoric periodicals, and snapshots

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In 1926 administrators at UC's barren Wood Hills Campus (now Westwood) imported a 75-ton Founders' Rock to add historical legitimacy to the new educational venture.

Undergraduates at the University of California, Berkeley, initiated a tradition of student labor days, c. 1900 to aid in construction of campus facilities and landscaping.





of student life. A file of catalogues and doctors' dissertations will not satisfy the needs of future historians and biographers. They must have something more if they are to make these dry bones live.[5]

Fortunately, Slosson's recommendation has not gone unheeded. Archivists at several California colleges and universities have collected and preserved an abundance of artifacts, photographs, yearbooks, articles of student clothing, and other unorthodox sources which do not fit readily onto a library shelf or into the category of official records. This institutional clutter constitutes the raw material, the historical flesh, which is invaluable for carrying out Slosson's mandate that research make the institution's "dry bones" come to life.

Like business and commercial organizations, college and universities maintain elaborate records of contracts, annual reports, budgets, transcripts, and degrees conferred. Yet an academic institution also acquires its own personality over time. This historical identity can inspire loyalty and belief; it is marked by an elaborate internal culture complete with traditions, ceremonies, rituals, and memorials. Its history rightfully includes legends and an embellished past mingled with the formal and official chronicles of affairs and events.[6]

Research in campus archives is not unlike rummaging through a grandparent's attic. Pleasant as this activity may be, however, the mementos seldom speak for themselves, and recreating the campus' past requires analysis, validation, and background reading in secondary sources. Let us briefly consider the uses and abuses of working with materials likely to be encountered in the archives and around the campus.

Student and Alumni Memoirs—Official institutional chronicles, often called cabinet histories, usually emphasize the meetings, plans, decisions, and actions of administrators, donors, and prominent faculty members. This seemingly trivial institutional clutter has potential to illuminate

The Class of 1898 at UC Berkeley donned the traditional "Plug Ugly" hats which identified them as campus juniors.

administrative style and policy. Early graduates of Stanford, for example, recurrently allude to the role of President David Starr Jordan in the daily life of that campus.[7] Similarly, to understand leadership during the formative years at the University of California, Santa Cruz, one might well supplement organizational charts and annual reports with a student-written account that Provost Page Smith, while riding a bicycle on campus, "would call on the nearest (student) bicycle rider for a race—provided he thought he could win."[8]

The infamous "publish or perish" faculty-promotion policy at universities is predicated on the assumption that a school gains prestige from its association with famous and influential scholars. By this standard, Stanford and University of California at Berkeley might boast about the contributions to the field of economics by Stanford teacher Thorstein Veblen and Berkeley student John Kenneth Galbraith. Their formal honors and citations, however, tell us little about how these great scholars behaved within the institutional walls.

Drawing from student and alumni memoirs, one finds that in the early 1900's Veblen prided himself on his miserable lecture style and attempted to persuade Stanford undergraduates to transfer out of his course. Nor did his indiscretions with women students and faculty wives endear him to the Stanford administration and trustees, the upshot being that Veblen left Stanford on less than amenable terms.[9] The strong feelings which a campus can inspire in its constituents include contempt and loathing as well as loyalty and belief.

Galbraith, in contrast, admits (with a measure of shyness and embarrassment) that he feels love for the Berkeley campus, which he first knew as a graduate student in the 1930's. In explaining this attachment he mentions not only the heady intellectual discussions and bonds among faculty and graduate students, but also his pleasant experience as a research assistant. This latter position involved the seemingly unimportant task of visiting nearby markets in Oakland to survey fruit prices and monitor socio-economic differences in shoppers' honey preferences.[10] This kind of student life usually escapes the outsider and the formal record, yet it is essential to the shared heritage and experience which connects Galbraith with generations of fellow alumni. It is part of the detailed nostalgia which Irving Stone has called the "autobiography of a university."

Alumni records obviously tend to select and boast about the adult accomplishments of former students, and such celebration can produce a very skewed portrait of a college's contributions to the leadership and affairs of a nation and a state. If the British proudly claim that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, historical thoroughness demands that Whittier, University of Southern California, and UCLA be recognized for having educated the principal figures involved in the Watergate scandal. Similarly, Abraham Ruef, an honors graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and Hastings College of Law, became San Francisco's political "boss" in the early 1900's. When Ruef was later convicted on charges of bribery and corruption, he demonstrated himself to be a "True Old Blue" by starting the first San Quentin alumni chapter of the University of California.[11]

Buildings and Memorials—Commencement orators frequently remind graduates that ideas and people, not bricks and mortar, make a campus great. This may be so, but the edifice complex and campus growth which have characterized higher education in California during the past half-century suggest that campus construction is somehow important. When colleges and universities build, for instance, they encourage a sense of history by naming new structures after old persons. Perhaps bricks and mortar can tell historians about an institution's priorities and values by noting who has been honored in campus memorials and on what basis they were selected.

Stanford University, for example, repeatedly reminds students and visitors that the original buildings are mau-

soleum architecture and ornamentation which honors Leland Stanford, Jr. The street names on Pomona College's campus acknowledge ties with New England's collegiate tradition; students "may live on Dartmouth Avenue, shop on Yale, and go to church on Harvard."[12] At UCLA, on the other hand, the choice of names for streets adjacent to the campus was not the result of board review and collective policy. When the campus was being built, the university engineer, a UC Berkeley graduate, playfully substituted his map's "Road A," "Road B," and "Road C" with the names of his own Berkeley professors—LeConte, Hilgard, and Gayley—fully expecting that these would be succeeded by names officially selected by the Regents. This did not happen. His choices endured, and "whimsy rather than sober selection became the basis on which streets bordering UCLA were named."[13]

At many campuses, buildings are named both for donors and famous alumni and faculty. Occasionally this dichotomy causes confusion and embarrassment, as in the case of Whittier College's O. T. Mendenhall Building, which now serves as the college's main administration quarters. A gracious, pleasant example of the Mission Revival architecture widespread in California of the 1920's, its split-level arrangement, tiled floors, high windows, beams, and high ceilings seem appropriate for the dignified yet unostentatious office of a liberal arts college president. Architectural appearances, however, do not reveal the full story of the building.

First, the building was not originally intended to house the college administration. Built in 1928 as a lodge for the local Elks chapter, it was repossessed by a bank during the Depression. Whittier College acquired the building in 1936 only as a result of some complicated horse-trading between the bank and a wealthy widow, Mrs. L. M. Mendenhall. This satisfactory arrangement hit a snag when the college attempted to name the building. The widow wanted it named in honor of her late husband, O. T. Mendenhall. College officials insisted on honoring both husband and wife via the imaginative title, "Menden Hall." Negotiations were further complicated and then stalled by the fact that the president of Whittier College, whose name was W. O. Mendenhall, objected because he would not feel comfortable "presiding in a building bearing his own surname." It would leave him and the college open to charges of personal empire-building and self-glorification. As a result, not until he left the college's presidency eight years later did Whittier College place over the building's entrance a bronze plaque identifying "The O. T. Mendenhall Building."[14]

It is doubtful, however, that any college in California has experienced the controversy over campus buildings which Boston University encountered in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Philanthropist Morris Gordon made a substantial donation to the university's new school of nursing, and the impressive facilities bearing Gordon's name received coverage and congratulations in the local press. Students complained, however, that Gordon's philanthropy was made possible by his real estate earnings, namely, by charging high rental rates to Boston University students. Their irate protests and picketing led to removal of Gordon's name from the building and the eventual withdrawal of Gordon's donations. The happy American formula in which philanthropy allows commercial wealth to gain academic blessings in exchange for bricks and mortar does not always work.

The promise of posterity in exchange for financial contributions has failed on other accounts in California. In 1924, for example, Whittier College hired a financial agent to solicit donations from the numerous retired Iowa farmers who had settled in the Los Angeles area. The promise was that the college would build an "Iowa Hall," complete with a special "Iowa Hall of Fame," a a library, and facilities for state reunions and picnics. After considerable effort the college's agent, whose funding goal was $250,000, settled for the grand sum of $515. According to the Whittier College historian, the only surviving fruits of this grand development venture are



Whittier College's Mendenhall Building—collegiate architecture of which the West could be proud, but formerly an Elks lodge.

two architectural drawings, now filed in an attic.[15] As we shall explore in a later section, many other California colleges and universities have suffered similar abandoned and forgotten building projects.

Athletic Nicknames, Mascots, and Symbols—Intercollegiate athletic mascots, a plausible source of clues to the personality of an academic institution, present historians with thorny problems of logic and motivation. California's colleges and universities have never projected a single symbol which matches the emotional and historical state identity of the "Hoosiers," "Cornhuskers," "Buckeyes," "Longhorns," or "Cowboys," the nicknames of the state universities in Indiana, Nebraska, Ohio, Texas, and Oklahoma. Only a few California college nicknames —"Gauchos," "Dons," "Diablos," "Golden Bears," and "49ers"—allude to the state's heritage, while St. Mary's "Gaels" represent a tribute to religious and ethnic ties in much the same way as Notre Dame's "Fighting Irish" or the professional Boston "Celtics." These imaginative nicknames, however, are often lost among the countless, ferocious beasts, birds, and ancient warriors, so that California institutions fail to stand out in the cluttered landscape of American intercollegiate nicknames and symbols.

Originally, the University of Southern California teams honored the school's religious affiliation by calling themselves the "Methodists." All this changed after a 1912 game when a sportswriter noted that the USC lads "fought like Trojans"—a name which has since been formalized.[16] It was probably sound policy, on the other hand, that Whittier College did not attempt to honor its religious roots by calling its team, "The Fighting Quakers." The choice of "Poets" is clever and a more fitting testimony to its namesake, John Greenleaf Whittier. Less clear is this mascot's inspirational quality in athletic competition.

Mascot etymology provides a helpful guide to the history and expansion of the multi-campus University of California. Athletes at the oldest Berkeley campus have been known as the "California Golden Bears" since the 1890's when its unheralded track team captured several championships while touring the East. In 1919 the infant Los Angeles branch of the university paid homage to the main Berkeley campus by naming itself the derivative "Cubs." As UCLA expanded and matured in the 1920's, its institutional growth was reflected in the change of mascot from "Cubs" to "Grizzlies." When UCLA students discovered that their conference rival, the University of Montana, already claimed that mascot, they settled on the now familiar "Bruins."[17]

Over the past half-century, the University of Califor-



nia system has added several new campuses. Student newspapers indicate that constituents of each new branch or campus wished to assert a unique identity befitting campus locale and heritage, and instead of nine variations on "Bears," historians find a motley array of "Aggies," "Tridents," "Highlanders," and "Gauchos." Historians, then, must watch for signs that a traditional practice or activity has died out, victim of either starvation or stuffing. In the case of mascot-naming, students perhaps have become indifferent to or disgusted with over-emphasis on intercollegiate sports. UC Santa Cruz has yet to formally announce a mascot. When UC Irvine opened in 1965, the bleak prospect of finding an original nickname not adopted by one of the many American colleges and universities led to the choice of "Anteaters," accompanied by the unique cheer of "Zot!"

Historians studying institutional symbols discover shifting rationales for selection of nicknames. In the early 1900's Pomona College chose to express its athletic power and valor with image, "Huns."[18] During World War I, when American restaurants changed menus to offer "liberty cabbage" instead of "sauerkraut," Pomona College students did their part for the war effort by dropping the Teutonic name. This does not explain, however, the subsequent selection of "Sagehens" as their symbol of intercollegiate athletic prowess.

Pomona's abandonment of "Huns" suggests that a collegiate mascot ought not honor a group or figure which offends the college's charter or values, for to select a particular mascot denotes admiration and honor. Yet historians ought not assume that this is a universally-accepted collegiate norm. Consider the case of Stanford University, which has switched from being "Cardinals" to "Indians" and in 1972 back to "Cardinals." This last reversal came in response to student complaints that the name demeaned Native Americans. While H. D. Timm Williams, a Yurok Indian who had served as the dancing mascot at Stanford games for twenty years, objected to

Team athletic events such as Stanford's Big Game in 1911 rallied student, alumni and community support and nurtured pride in the state's fledgling academic institutions.

the decision to eliminate the "Indian" mascot, and noted that the students never asked his opinion on the matter,[19] the school resumed its former name of the "Cardinals," a rubric of ornithological, not clerical, identification. An historically significant incident unmentioned in official guide books was that the Stanford alumni and administration squelched a grass-roots student proposal that the new team-nickname be "Robber Barons." Surely, the name would have been an historic tribute to the controversy surrounding the nature of Leland Stanford's fortune.

Mass Lore and Graphics—Mascots, alumni memoirs, and campus monuments enrich and complicate institutional histories but provide only incidental information about the history of colleges and universities as part of regional and state development. Ours is an age of mass communications, and the gamut of public images which connect institutions to the surrounding society are also useful to historians. Advertising, photojournalism, public relations brochures, newsreels, and other products of the mass media contain the folklore of modern life that might be called "mass lore."

In the decades from 1890 to 1930, California received widespread description and discussion in many national-circulation periodicals including *Scribner's*, *Harper's*, *Century*, *The Nation*, *The Outlook*, *Overland Monthly*, *Sunset*, and *The Independent*. In more recent years California's institutions of higher education have been covered in *Life*, *Saturday Review*, *West*, *Holiday*, and *Esquire*. Popular interest in higher education has been sufficiently great to prompt many magazines to devote their September issue to "Going Back to College." Such articles inform historians about what visitors and outsiders saw and said about the California institutions and reveal the images, stereotypes, and predictions which were broadcast to nation-wide audiences.

A corollary observation involves the calculation and effort of California campuses to project their images and information to various groups. Assessing both kinds of information—outsiders looking in and insiders projecting out—historians may be alerted by journalism and public relations materials to institutional events and issues related to, yet beneath, the level of public imagery.

Use of these historical sources requires the historian to bear in mind that a particular magazine or campus brochure may have projected a distorted and selective image of institutional reality. The itinerant journalist may be a muckraker determined to expose institutional scandal, or, on the other hand, he may be promoting tourism among East Coast vacationers with inflated descriptions of picturesque campus towns. A campus brochure might herald a new curriculum or president or, on the other hand, may indicate little more than the hiring of an energetic information director.

Brochures geared to prospective applicants differ from public information and statements distributed by a university to calm neighborhood fears about campus building and expansion or alter unfavorable stereotypes held by the public. It is not coincidental, then, that in the aftermath of the late-1960's student unrest, university officials attempted to restore public confidence in and support of the University of California. In 1973, for example, articles appeared in San Francisco newspapers featuring faculty members who spent long hours in community service work and in advising students, as well as classroom teaching and research. In that same year, Berkeley alumni paid for a billboard in San Francisco which portrayed an earnest and presumably satisfied student in a white lab coat with the slogan, "UC: Where the Future Begins." Further, after twenty years without strong campus-community relations, the UC Berkeley administration and alumni sponsored an elaborate "Cal Open House" intended to mend the university's sorely neglected public fences.[20]

Whether the researcher encounters hard-sell billboards or soft-sell brochures, his strategy must be to seek out the circumstances which built the institutional and social fire

beneath the imagery's smoke. The grantedly fragmentary legends, artifacts, incidents, and analogies cited in this section suggest ways in which unorthodox sources might enhance our thinking about the history of institutions and culture. They can help us write "institutional history with a difference," as we consider some important themes in the founding of California's colleges and universities and the development of state pride.

In 1849 California legislators seemed confident that if the state wanted outstanding colleges and universities, they had simply to buy them. Robert Semple, president of the Constitutional Convention held in Monterey, boasted to his fellow delegates, "Why should we send our sons to Europe to finish their education? We can bring the President of Oxford here by offering a sufficient salary."[21] Little came of this grand proposal (the convention never was able to find Oxford's "President," let alone lure him to the Pacific Coast), and for the next twenty years development of a state university proceeded modestly.

Nonetheless, the legislature's naive and premature attempt to import the Oxford image to California raises a question central to the history of the region: does a young state create its own innovative and experimental institutions, or does it borrow and transplant from already existing colleges and universities? In some cases the latter option was interpreted literally, and late-nineteenth century American higher education is peppered with instances where a new institution raided wholesale the faculty of an established college. Imitation was another variant, and states or regions emulating an historic campus frequently attempted to transplant the forms, spirit, and architectural style of an older college to a new setting. California's complicated, massive, and highly successful educational system combining the University of California, the California State College and University system, community colleges, and over ninety private colleges and universities serves as an historical reminder that the state's provisions for higher education were not the products of a facile or inevitable development.

Not infrequently, East Coast educators and writers ridiculed and disdained the kind of optimism expressed by the mid-nineteenth century California legislator. Although the University of California was alive in 1880, it was hardly a major force in American higher education, and California attracted curiosity in large measure only because the state appeared to be over-building. One widespread opinion held outside California was that a single university would be sufficient for handling the state's academic needs, and when Stanford University opened in 1891 one eastern journalist observed: "It is about as much needed as an asylum for decayed sea captains is needed in Switzerland. The professors for years will lecture in marble halls to empty benches."[22]

True to prediction, only three students presented themselves for Stanford's entrance examination—and two were rejected. Stanford soon attracted a number of students, but most had transferred from the neighboring College of the Pacific (then located in San Jose). Not surprisingly, administrators at the older campus complained that Stanford lured away the majority of college's student body.[23]

Unimpressive beginnings and institutional mortalities dominated late-nineteenth century higher education in California and other states. By 1900, however, several California colleges and universities had survived, albeit often precariously, and some campuses even attracted favorable commentary in the national press. As noted above, in 1910 Edwin Slosson observed the distinctive California academic style and student culture which he found at Berkeley and Stanford. Promises of institutional greatness, however, still coexisted with California's doubting and self-conscious attitude toward East Coast schools, and no one perceived California campuses as any threat to old New England institutions. As the editor of



Campus life at Los Angeles' Occidental College in 1924 included the traditional hazing of freshmen.

the *Brown Alumni Monthly* noted in 1900, "California and Stanford, fine and strong as they are, cannot buy the history or the elms of Harvard, Yale, and Brown."[24]

California's colleges of the early 1900's survived and grew with the mixed blessings of youth. Institutional identity crises surfaced as Stanford claimed to be the "Harvard of the West," Pomona College described itself as a coeducational college "of the New England style," and Occidental College—liberal arts in orientation and Presbyterian in affiliation—called itself the "Princeton of the West." This identification explains Occidental's choice of the "Tiger" mascot and the school colors of black and orange, the same as New Jersey's Old Nassau. Institutional publications referred to California Institute of Technology as the "M.I.T. of the West," and in the early 1950's the new liberal arts college at UC Riverside was hailed as "California's Amherst," "Oberlin of the West," and "Swarthmore of the West."[25]

With pride, not derogation, college officials and students continued to embrace and describe their own young institutions as western transplants and spiritual heirs to East Coast educational traditions and institutions. To them the nicknames and comparisons indicated that "first rank" academic work could flourish in young, raw California, contrary to the earlier misgivings of eastern critics. On the other hand, they indicated also a measure of dependency and deference. So long as a California college or university defined itself as the Pacific outpost of an East Coast forerunner, the school would bear the stigma of provincial imitation rather than an original, indigenous institution.

When did California outgrow its deference to and imitation of the eastern institutions? Where do we first find mention of a distinctive California contribution to American higher education? Working back through records and accounts, one finds that Edwin Slosson's 1910 profile concluded with the projection that the University of California, along with the University of Chicago, Harvard University, and Columbia University, had the potential to be one of the few American universities of truly international stature and consequence.[26] But this was not the whole California story. To understand how higher education in California first gained widespread national attention for a pioneering contribution to education, we must look to the experiment which took place in the 1920's and 1930's in the small town of Claremont, thirty-five miles west of Los Angeles.



Pomona College, founded in 1887, struggled precariously as a poor-but-honest "Christian college of the New England type," which frequently invoked the historical legacy of Amherst, Williams, and Oberlin. As with Daniel Webster's legendary Dartmouth (another recurrent source of comparison), Pomona was a small college, and there were those who loved it—but it was hardly an institution of national significance. Enrollment in 1908 ran at about 500 students, a figure which satisfied Pomona's president and encouraged him to resist undignified recruitment campaigns. In good academic standing, Pomona received public endorsements from the presidents of Yale, Chicago, and the University of California.[27]

Around 1910 Pomona College underwent a gentle yet firm change in its institutional identity, apparently no longer content to depict itself only as an outpost of the New England collegiate heritage. A brochure from 1910, for example, made special note of the motto, "A College on the Pacific which attracts students from the Atlantic and the Interior," a hint that the college sought to move beyond a strictly local audience. By 1917 recruitment brochures offered applicants the modest proposal and sporting proposition that eastern students, instead of "going back East" to college, ought to consider going "Out West" for a unique, true, and academically sound education:

> Would it not be a great experience for the eastern lad to be equally cosmopolitan—to share the advantages of the splendid educational system of the Pacific coast, feel the momentum of the western world . . .?[28]

This brochure, immodestly titled *The Greater Life*, noted that the "day of the unprovincial American has dawned. He will be the man of the future. Why not qualify?" The ticket of admission, of course, was education at Pomona College. In the section, "East or West," the

Fighting comparisons to historic eastern schools, Occidental's President Remsen Bird delivered a formal academic oration in 1925 at a groundbreaking ceremony on a windswept hillside.

admissions staff tackled the larger debate over regional virtues and the flow of civilization and progress:

A man may go East. There is the older education. There, too, are the traditions and memories of men and events with their obvious inspirations. There also are great established institutions. There is much there to make strong appeal.

On the other hand, the western coast with its mighty human problems, its tremendous forward movement. . . . Pomona College is just at the doors of Los Angeles; it is a part of the Southwest, a city and region surging forward as is no other part of America . . . a place of life and citizenship in this opening land of the future.

Increasingly, the college contrasted California's western virtues to the crystallized traditions and family ties of the East Coast. A 1924 brochure worded as an "open letter" to a high school student included the following worldy insights from a Pomona senior:

> *"When you come to Pomona, Bill, you will be coming to a democratic college, one with the Western stir and enthusiasm, and one where men are rated on their qualities and ability, and not on their blue blood."*

When you come to Pomona, Bill, you will be coming to a democratic college, one with the Western stir and enthusiasm, and one where men are rated on their qualities and ability, and not on their blue blood.[29]

Pomona added an important new wrinkle to its campaign in 1925. Instead of expanding the size and enrollment of Pomona College, a group of trustees, professors, administrators, and donors announced a remarkable experiment in institutional growth: new, adjacent colleges would be coordinated with the older Pomona College. They intended this organizational arrangement, hailed as a federation of interdependent colleges comparable to Oxford, to preserve the liberal arts residential college while avoiding unnecessary, chaotic proliferation of institutions and duplication of facilities. Pomona College, and the new Claremont Graduate School and Scripps College (for women), were to share some resources and be bonded together through a unique administrative apparatus, the Claremont University Center. This blueprint, Pomona claimed, made the idea of the liberal arts campus suitable to a growing population and a mass society. And California was a fitting laboratory for this educational experiment, as the first brochure for the Claremont Colleges announced in 1925:

To this point Southern California has now evidently come. The physical conquest has now subdued the raw country into the theatre of a great civilization. . . . Again, any adequate educational program for Southern California should include that most unique of American institutions on private foundations—*the residential college*—the finest and most successful form of education association which has yet been developed anywhere in the world.[30]

Certainly the Claremont Colleges plan was timely; during these same years Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Brown, and Dartmouth experienced racking internal problems caused by rapid growth, schisms within their student bodies, lack of campus housing, and loss of collegiate cohesion. Until the Claremont Colleges presented their bold plan, the American liberal arts college of the 1920's had yet to work out a way for accommodating itself within the university setting. (Harvard's house plan and Yale's residential colleges did not come into being until the 1930's.)

While the colleges' self-congratulations and public relations material promoted the venture, the Claremont plan received scrutiny and favorable reviews from educators and writers throughout the country. In 1925 the

president of the Carnegie Corporation praised the Claremont Colleges proposal as "the most significant undertaking in the organization of higher education in this country since the establishment of the state universities." Even more expansively, Harvard professor Paul Monroe was moved to write:

> The torch of learning was borne aloft in the first century by Antioch and Athens; in the second century by Rome and Alexandria; by Padua and Paris in the twelfth; Oxford and Cambridge in the fifteenth; Harvard and Yale in the seventeenth; Columbia and Chicago in the nineteenth; the Claremont Colleges of the West in the twentieth.[31]

Monroe's analysis and interpretation provided crucial support for the plan on several counts. Not only was Monroe from Harvard, he was recognized as the foremost historian of education in the United States. Above all, he gave the young Californian institution's experiment a strong sense of historical legitimacy. Whereas educators and journalists had dismissed California as provincial in the 1880's, by the mid-1920's they could argue with convction that the course of "Progress" and location of excellence had shifted; the decadent East had been surpassed by the Pacific Coast as the vanguard of education. Pomona College had been an outpost of civilization, but the Claremont Colleges could claim to have salvaged the liberal arts college by devising an organizational form suited to modern American life.

A steady stream of articles and reviews in national periodicals and newspapers, along with the Claremont Colleges' own brochure, gave the experiment increased visibility. As one journalist noted in 1930:

> The academic East is now copying the educational experiments of the progressive West. The world has its eyes on a small group of Southern California colleges already termed the 'Oxford of the Pacific.'[32]

Other reports praised Claremont Colleges as an "antidote to the Jazz Age," a model which would allow an institution to accommodate large numbers of students



without becoming an "educational factory."[33] Soon the academic merits of the plan produced spin-off interest in California architecture and landscaping, as travel writers described the campus grounds as idyllic, "unspoiled," and "the college in a garden." While twenty years earlier Pomona had been complimented for being California's "Puritan College," the new Scripps College of the Claremont Group was celebrated in the 1930's as a "happy mingling of healthy study and healthy recreation —teas, vespers, patios," all amid an "Hispanic style of campus architecture."

Institutional efforts and outside curiosity sustained interest in Claremont Colleges into the 1930's. When some East Coast critics accused the colleges of exaggerating and boasting, they countered with a lofty rebuttal:

> It is easy for those who have not actually faced these conditions and opportunities as they appear in the new West to



Shared campus experiences, like this streamer-strewn rally at Stanford c. 1913, build collective memories that become the school's human history.

charge us who are immediately surrounded by them with an exaggeration of the issues involved and with the use of undue superlatives. But when all qualifications have been made, it remains true that here [in California] the American people are given their final opportunity to dedicate the results of all past endeavors to the organization of a new society on the virgin frontiers of a new world.[34]

School brochures persistently portrayed the Claremont Colleges' educational mission as related to local and regional destiny:

In all this western area the task and opportunity are largest and most obvious in Southern California. Here are the Greek skies and sunshine which befriend man's best estate. And here with an increasing and almost inexplicable definiteness are converging those great lines of commerce, population, and destiny which make it clear that there is now in process of organization a society which is certain to be one of the most consequential forces of the coming days.[35]

How are historians to appraise this rhetoric of greatness and historical destiny? While the schools obviously indulged in heavy doses of institutional and state chauvinism, in the main their claims about California's growth and the uniqueness and academic excellence of the Claremont Colleges appear warranted. The Claremont plan for adding and coordinating new institutions worked quite successfully into the post-war decades.

As the recognized symbol of higher education in California, however, the reputation of the Claremont Colleges has not endured. In the 1950's and 1960's the University of California and, to a lesser extent, Stanford and the University of Southern California, have been the focus of national discussions about the archetypal California university. Sufficiently worried about this relative decline in publicity and visibility, the Claremont Group hired a consulting firm to study their collective organizational imagery in the 1960's.[36] To understand this puzzle of institutional reputation, however, historians must look beyond the Claremont Colleges to competing social and institutional developments in education elsewhere in the state.

While it may seem that California's provisions for public higher education gained national renown only in the recent past when the University of California and Berkeley became synonymous in the American vocabulary with campus turmoil, national controversy and notoriety about the University of California dates at least to the post-World War II years of the faculty loyalty-oath controversy. If the events and publicity of the late 1960's raised the University of California to the level of a national symbol for abuses of public higher education, it happened only because California's innovations in creating and extending a state educational system had long been watched and admired as a model of public higher education.

California's Master Plan for higher education and the university's Chancellor Clark Kerr received favorable national attention in the early 1960's.



In the 1930's while the innovations at the Claremont Colleges were attracting national curiosity, the less-known University of California was busy becoming the largest university in the country. Like many state universities, UC enjoyed reasonable support and indulgence from the people and government of the state, and Berkeley's undergraduate traditions and intercollegiate teams fulfilled many of the popular expectations for collegiate life. Expanding technical expertise and agricultural extension programs further endeared UC to the state's economy.

In the same period, the less conspicuous dimensions of university activity—graduate education and faculty research—achieved remarkable stature in international academic circles and allowed UC to go far beyond the standard "State U" expectations. Accounts and memoirs from the 1930's convey a shared sense of golden provincialism in which UC's relative geographical isolation came to be regarded as an asset. In addition to an unusual concentration of resources, libraries, laboratories, and talent, remarkable bonds developed among faculty and graduate students. With most academic conferences held in Washington, D.C., and other eastern cities, Berkeley scholars exercised a convenient excuse to stay close to home.

Journalist Slosson's 1910 prediction that the University of California held the resources and potential to gain international renown became fact in the 1930's and 1940's and culminated in the 1960's, also the years of notoriety. *Time* and *Newsweek* regularly reported on the UC system and devoted several cover stories to new developments in the 1950's and 1960's.[37] In 1964 a *Newsweek* cover story about Ivy League schools presented an image of intense competition between the coastal giants of American higher education. The magazine pitted California's public higher education, characterized by mass accessibility, low tuition, and academic excellence, against the old and historic East Coast private colleges and universities.[38] Clearly, California had moved beyond deference and imitation to advance and refine its own forms and philosophies of higher education. In 1968 a widely publicized study of graduate education and departmental rankings led many educators and journalists to conclude that UC Berkeley ranked Number One in the country, a conclusion which the editors of Harvard's *Crimson* did not dispute. To the contrary, they applauded and playfully chided their own faculty to adopt an Avis, "try harder" attitude. Not only had the University of California become the "Hertz" of American higher education by the late 1960's and early 1970's, it achieved an interesting landmark in symbols of state pride and institutional reputation when a Nobel Prize-winning biologist, a professor at Harvard, lamented to the editors of the Harvard alumni magazine that the national press was calling Harvard the "Berkeley of the East."

In the 1960's California's higher education catapulted into national prominence through its state Master Plan and universal access program, as well as the University of California's scholarly achievements. As discussed in increasing numbers of national news articles, California's

Image-conscious admissions officers dropped Stanford University's Library from its brochures after the 1906 earthquake.

Master Plan provided for elaborate coordination of several tiers of public and private institutions which would give citizens optimal access to the instruction, certification, and services of modern colleges and universities—all with low tuition in the public sector and ample financial aid for students attending private colleges.

The ascent of the University of California system, however, did not signal the eclipse of other colleges and universities in the state. The sense of decline expressed by officials at the Claremont Colleges belied the support and appeal which California's private institutions enjoyed, and in fact, every five or ten years a new generation of educational writers seemed to rediscover the Claremont Plan. (In the early and mid-1960's a number of articles again lauded the "Oxford of the Orange Belt."[39]) If the Claremont Group indeed experienced a lower profile slighting its academic excellence, it is also worth noting that some California colleges and universities leaned toward the abuses of over-promotion. In fact one journalist stirred up a measure of controversy in 1966 by scolding Stanford for having promoted itself on "East Coast" attributes, for

> . . . building its image on something 3,000 miles away. It likes to be considered the Harvard of the West, while it would be better off being Stanford. And it's interesting that its public relations department is in high gear all the time.[40]

While Stanford may have been able to reap benefits from its image as an Ivy League school in California, since the late-nineteenth century spokesmen for large





While film directors in the 1930's believed it necessary to go east to find true "collegiate atmosphere," in the 1960's this MGM film crew shot scenes for "The Impossible Years" on location at Occidental College in Los Angeles.

state universities and higher education in general have characteristically predicted (and advocated) the disappearance of the private liberal arts institution.[41] Much of the debate has focused on a misleading stereotype of the small, tradition-bound, and elitist college out of touch with "modern needs." Supporters of public higher education in California indulged in these polemics and tactics, with the upshot that the University of California's combination of resources and reputation were a source of both continual criticism and envy.

Ironically, during the 1960's when the Claremont Colleges subjected themselves to institutional soul-searching and UC rode a crest of visibility and acclaim, UC spokesmen began churning out announcements worded as though they had been prepared by the admissions office of a selective, private liberal arts college. Using the ideas, language, and forms of the Claremont Plan of the 1920's and 1930's to describe its plans for the 1960's and 1970's, President Clark Kerr and other representatives of the University of California urged state colleges and universities to consider arrangements which broke down the "impersonality of the multiversity" and other unfavorable features of "mass education." They raised questions about how to treat the individual student as a unique human being in the mass student body, how to make the university seem smaller as it grows larger, and how to establish contact between faculty and students broader than the one-way route across the lectern or through the television screen.[42] Thirty years after the Claremont Colleges advanced the idea, provided the setting, and put into practice a plan by which the liberal arts residential college could keep pace with Southern California's population growth and regional character, the University of California acted as though the public sector had discovered these problems and concerns. The eventual progress of public higher education to its new "solution" via the University of California at Santa Cruz entails an interesting blend of history and futurology.

Creation of a liberal arts college in the 1960's within the University of California system had received the attention of planners and administrators for several years. They intended the Riverside and Santa Barbara campuses, incorporated into the UC system by the 1950's, to carry out this plan, and the new Irvine and expanded San Diego campuses of the 1960's advanced novel approaches to undergraduate education within the mul-

tiversity scheme. Outside the UC system, a number of other California institutions experimented with "cluster colleges" arrangements, notably Raymond College within Stockton's University of the Pacific and Johnston College of Redlands University.[43] None of these liberal arts innovations, however, could match the glamour and celebration which surrounded the University of California's "Santa Cruz Plan" in 1964 and 1965.

How soon does an institution acquire its history? The University of California at Santa Cruz did so even before the campus opened. Advance brochures in 1964 mingled future projections with historical antecedents. At one time or another they compared the new University to "a medieval city composed of a number of small villages" and to "intellectual states within a federal university." Residential colleges or "scholarly villages" were to be pioneering ventures not unlike that of the American colonists who built their "City on a Hill."[44]

UC Santa Cruz's first brochures became public before the permanent buildings were completed. Planners juxtaposed photographs of the landscape around the old Henry Cowell ranch with architects' models of proposed residential colleges. Applicants were told that a limestone quarry might someday be the amphitheater, but during the first year they were to live in temporary quarters consisting of converted mobile trailers. The Provost of Cowell College described them in historical terms linking the past and future: "These twentieth-century covered wagons will hopefully carry a new group of pioneers on a journey of educational discovery. We think the inconvenience will be balanced by the novelty of the enterprise."[45]

Feature articles and media programs called UC Santa Cruz a "workable utopia," an "idyllic experiment" which "combined the virtues of the big university with those of the small college." (The Santa Cruz plan called for early establishment of three residential colleges and gradual expansion up to twenty colleges so as to accommodate a projected enrollment of 27,500 students in the 1980's.) A graduate student at nearby Berkeley described it with high convictions as:

> by far the most ambitious attempt ever made by an American public university to cope with the tax-supported school's tradition of size and impersonality. . . . In a nation where state universities vary widely in quality, but relatively little in goals and organization, Santa Cruz is impressive for the sheer number and scope of the innovations it plans. . . . Most important, Santa Cruz is trying to create a state university campus that has some of the graciousness and amenities that are usually associated with private universities.[46]

Several writers praised Santa Cruz' attempt to rid undergraduate education of the "playground atmosphere and academic abuses of 'big time' sports," which were outlawed. Others praised Santa Cruz' unique curriculum and instructional arrangements which discouraged the "State U" vocationalism and specialization syndromes.

Some journalists, however, raised questions about the possibility of maintaining an atmosphere of experimentation when the initial euphoria ran out. Others noted that small size was of little educational consequence if the new campus did not develop and maintain a distinctive approach to campus learning and living. Another warned that the special purpose and sense of historical destiny which had been spawned at the new campus might promote smugness and elite provincialism degenerating into "chumminess and anti-intellectualism." He noted that this was a special problem facing any California college because the youth of the state "already have far to high an opinion of themselves." He continued:

> Bright they may be, but intellectually (as well as sartorially) they tend to be an unbuttoned, sloppy breed who come to the university with not the slightest conception of work or of intellectual discipline. This, in part, explains why they so often feel free to denigrate anything and anybody including their elders, their instructors, and their unquestionable superiors—the world's greatest thinkers and artists. To encourage rather than eradicate these vices, some faculty believe, may be an unintended and harmful effect of the Santa Cruz atmosphere.[47]

"What makes this place so seductive? Are we seduced by the promises of the myth, or by the real conditions which exist here?"

While the celebrations and criticism by outsiders lacked the bases in experience of those who participated in campus life, external images certainly held some impact for UC Santa Cruz students and faculty. As one student pamphlet asked in 1969, "What makes this place so seductive? Are we seduced by the promises of the myth, or by the real conditions which exist here?"[48] Another student memoir observed that articles about Santa Cruz glossed over structural and curricular provisions which, although unimportant to the general public, were significant to students:

> Writers have mistakenly stated that a certain college emphasized or specialized in a certain field or fields. That's not quite true. Each college at UCSC is supposed to be a general liberal arts college that has its own *perspective* on the liberal arts. However, its perspective in no way affects the general nature of the college. A good case in point is Crown College. It's often labelled as the science college and its perspective is indeed science. Its provosts have been scientists. . . . But its students can be no more than 50% declared majors in the sciences. Its college courses also reflect a very diverse mixed-bag of possibilities.[49]

Illustrating another peril of publicity, media photojournalism concentrated on the beauty of the campus setting, the subdued architecture, and easy slogans about "spontaneity" and "inter-personal relationships." The less spectacular dimensions of undergraduate life, such as study and academic work, resisted facile visual or verbal depiction and consequently were usually ignored.[50]

To counteract the media image, UC Santa Cruz's admissions and public information offices then began turning out brochures to supplement the growing stereotypes. If the original public images and "mass lore" can be considered historical documents, what followed next was "historical revision" modifying the glamour of the early and highly successful legends. The admissions office soon warned prospective applicants that Santa Cruz' virtues held intrinsic draw-backs: a small and "collegiate" atmosphere could result in claustrophobia; a green campus required months of rain; and, contrary to popular media impressions, undergraduate education at Santa Cruz was not four years of summer camp and "grooving in the Redwoods."[51]

The Santa Cruz saga received additional publicity when in 1968 at a Regents meeting, Max Rafferty, then State Superintendent of Public Instruction, quipped that Santa Cruz was a cross "between a hippy pad and a brothel."[52] Illustrating the definition of institutional saga as a mixture of real and embellished past, his alleged remark became another campus legend and another chapter in Santa Cruz' "instant history."

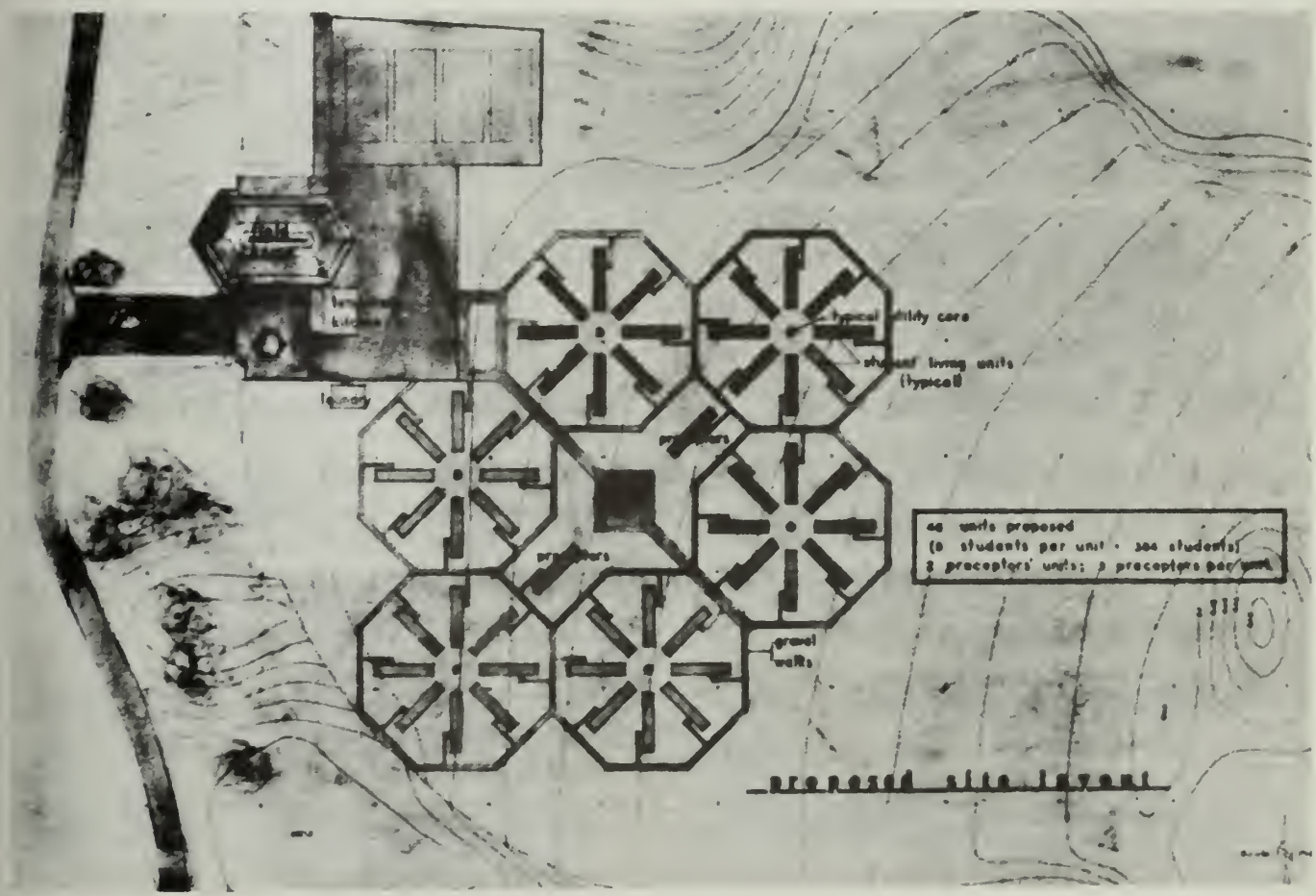
By 1975 Santa Cruz had experienced the retirement of its original chancellor, resignation of Cowell College's provost, faculty disputes over tenure, and faculty resistance to the new chancellor. Addition of more residential colleges brought schisms between the east and west sides of the campus and curtailment of the grandiose plans for an eventual enrollment of 20,000 students. Polemics and "conspiracies of silence" make it difficult for outsiders and historians to understand the fine points of disputes within the campus today, but saga depends less on veracity and accuracy than on the social fact that people and organizations act as if images and legends are true.

According to one UC Berkeley journalist who attempted to probe the Santa Cruz story in the early 1970's, in less than a decade the young campus had lost its reputation as a "dream school for thousands of high school seniors" comparable to the eastern Ivy League

schools. Early favorable publicity may have encouraged high school guidance counselors, awed by the "mythology of getting into UCSC," to direct students to other UC campuses. Jealousies and competition with the UC system may also have taken a toll. As one Santa Cruz senior told a reporter, "When I came here four years ago, this school was considered the best. Now we're taking UC Irvine's rejects."[53]

While this essay cannot provide a lengthy history of UC Santa Cruz, it illustrates the point that institutional history can and ought to include the recent past. Unlike numerous colleges and universities which toiled in obscurity without a strong sense of institutional mission, the short history of UC Santa Cruz offers a wealth of images, events, contradictions, and dramatic changes. Creating this new institition has elicited strong feelings of attachment and historical identity in the first graduating class of 1969, and a number of Cowell College students gathered materials, wrote, and published a "self-conscious history" of their own institution, *Solomon's House*.

Whereas the publicists' advance brochures proclaimed



Students lived in twentieth-century "covered wagons" or mobile housing units in the first year of the experiment at Santa Cruz.

confidence and celebration, the events and multiplicity of images from 1965 to 1976 indicate complexities, contradictions, reversals, and unforeseen developments. The essence of an institutional experiment is its newness and its innovation, and if they are not sustained, the experiment degenerates into formula. The cases of Santa Cruz and the Claremont Colleges suggest the difference between a unique experiment and a master plan for the rest of the state's higher education. At Claremont of the 1930's and Santa Cruz of the late 1960's, administrators, faculty, and students complained that all too often the unique, experimental mechanisms and provisions for living and instruction were misunderstood.[54] Journalists, in their rush to describe and compare, glossed over important points. Perhaps campuses such as Santa Cruz or the Claremont Colleges were poor models for other institutions to imitate; the inordinate time, money, devotion, and selectivity demanded by a new, experimental campus proved to be the antithesis of a blueprint for proliferation of branches and sister campuses. Although UC Santa Cruz has acquired and cultivated its own institutional saga, it shares with a handful of earlier campuses—Stanford of the 1890's and Claremont of the 1920's—a remarkable pioneering spirit which invoked California's abundance, youth, and future as historical grounds for its educational mission. And the history and legends of the University of California at Santa Cruz have proven far more complicated and rich than the smooth "model village" campus which futurologists and planners projected for this educational experiment.
End of Part I.

The photographs on pages 143 (below) and 144 are courtesy the University of California, Berkeley, Archives; on 151, 152, and 158, Occidental College, Special Collections Library; on 143 (top), University of California, Los Angeles, Special Collections; on 147, Whittier College Library; on 157, Stanford University News Service; and on 161, University of California, Santa Cruz, Archives. The *Time*, The Weekly News Magazine, cover is reproduced by permission and copyrighted by *Time* Inc., October 17, 1960. All the other photographs are from the CHS Library.

Notes

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2. *Los Angeles: A Guide to the City and Its Environs* (American Guide Series, compiled by Workers of the Works Progress Administration in Southern California, 1941), pp. 208–209.
3. Andrew Hamilton and John B. Jackson, *UCLA on the Move: During Fifty Years, 1919–1969* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969), pp. 51–57; Verne A. Stadtman, *The University of California, 1868–1968* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), p. 233.
4. Edwin Slosson, "Leland Stanford Junior University," *Great American Universities* (New York: MacMillan, 1910), p. 136.
5. Slosson, "University of Pennsylvania," 345.
6. Burton R. Clark, "Belief and Loyalty in College Organization," *Journal of Higher Education* (June, 1971), pp. 499–515; John R. Thelin, "Beyond the Factory Model: New Strategies for Institutional Evaluation," *College and University* (Winter 1976), pp. 161–164.
7. Edith R. Mirrielees, editor, *Stanford Mosaic: Reminiscences of the First Seventy-five Years at Stanford University* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1962), *passim.*
8. *Solomon's House: A Self-Conscious History of Cowell College* (Felton, California: Big Tree Press, 1969), p. 25. [Collective authors were members of Cowell History Workshop 144G.]
9. See, *e.g.*, Robert L. Duffus, *The Innocents at Cedro* (New York: MacMillan, 1944); Joseph Dorfman, *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (New York: Viking Press, 1934).
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11. Walton Bean, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952).
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13. Hamilton and Jackson, *UCLA on the Move*, 58, 212, 221.
14. Charles W. Cooper, *Whittier: Independent College in California* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1967), pp. 235–236.
15. Cooper, *Whittier*, 186.
16. Manuel P. Servín and Iris Higbie Wilson, *Southern California and Its University* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969), p. 54.
17. Hamilton and Jackson, *UCLA on the Move*, 172.
18. Cooper, *Whittier*, 124.
19. *Esquire*, September, 1972, pp. 81–82.
20. *E.g.*, "The UC Message," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 13, 1973; *Cal Open House* program, October 28, 1973.
21. Robert Semple, quoted in Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), p. 132.
22. Slosson, *Great American Universities*, 122; see also, Cecil Mortimer Marack, "Stanford University—The Real and the Ideal," *Sunset Magazine*, December, 1902.

23. Rockwell D. Hunt, *History of the College of the Pacific, 1851–1951* (Stockton, California: College of the Pacific, 1951), pp. 71–72.
24. "University Competition," *Brown Alumni Monthly*, June, 1900, p. 5.
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26. Slosson, *Great American Universities*, 163, 180.
27. President George A. Gates, quoted in "Advertising Pomona College," unidentified news clipping, June 26, 1908; see also, *Claremont and Pomona College* brochure (1902).
28. *The Greater Life*, Pomona College brochure (1917).
29. *As a College Man Thinks: Being Letters from a Senior at Pomona College to a High School Senior* (1924), p. 31.
30. *Claremont Colleges: An Unfolding Story* (1925), p. 6.
31. Paul Monroe (1925), quoted in Paul H. Davis, "Is the Claremont Group Still Setting the Pace?" (mimeograph), October 19, 1960.
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33. Max Stern, "Where Campus Dreams Come True," *San Francisco News* ,December 14, 1929. See also, "In California," *Time*, February 22, 1926 [cover story]; "The New Plans at Pomona College," *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, December 31, 1925, pp. 393–395; George Savage, "A New Note in American Education," *Sunset Magazine*, November, 1927, pp. 16–17, 54, 56.
34. *Claremont: An Educational Ideal* (1930), p. 5.
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36. *Public Relations Recommendations for the Claremont Colleges* (Los Angeles: Braun and Company, 1968), 20 pp. (mimeographed).
37. *E.g.*, "Master Planner," *Time*, October 17, 1960, pp. 58–69 (cover features "University of California's Clark Kerr").
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39. David Boroff, "California's Five-College Experiment," *Harper's*, December, 1959, pp. 70–78. See also, "Federated Colleges," *Time*, September, 1961, pp. 42–43; "Claremont's Sixth," *Time*, November 6, 1964, p. 57.
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The essence of an institutional experiment is its newness and innovation, and if they are not sustained, it degenerates into formula.

43. *E.g.*, "Big Schools Labor to Think Small," *Business Week*, September 17, 1966; Warren Bryan Martin, "The Will to be Different: The Small College on the Big Campus," *Saturday Review*, January 21, 1967; Jerry R. Gaff, et al., *The Cluster College* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970).
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46. David A. Kamen, "The New Santa Cruz Campus: An Idyllic Experiment," *The Daily Californian Weekly Magazine*, March 1, 1966, p. 7.
47. James P. Degnan, "Santa Cruz: A Workable Utopia," in Carey McWilliams, editor, *The California Revolution* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1968), pp. 131–132.
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50. "An Old Idea Flowers Anew at Santa Cruz," *Life*, May 8, 1970, pp. 52–63.
51. *So You're Thinking of Coming to Santa Cruz* (Santa Cruz: University of California, n.d.) (brochure, circa 1970–1971), 31 pp.
52. Tatsch to the author, June 14, 1975. See also, *Solomon's House, passim; UC as Nine Unnatural Acts*, 30.
53. Jeffrey Hammerling, "Chancellor Christensen to Confront Problems of Innovation at Santa Cruz," *The Daily Californian*, April 24, 1974.
54. See William W. Clary, *The Claremont Colleges: A History of the Development of the Claremont Group Plan* (Claremont, California: Claremont University Center, 1970), 314 pp.

Deluxe Accommodations



Opened in 1869 Stockton's bustling Yo Semite House hosted travelers who appreciated the conveniences of the hotel's barber, billiard hall, taxi service, and ladies' entrance.

Ronald Rayman

Stockton's Yo Semite House Hotel 1869-1923

In an era when growing numbers of drive-in motels have replaced inner-city hotels as hostelries to Americans on the road, it is almost forgotten that hotels once fulfilled a unique function in American life. Replacing the inn of the colonial period which rarely exceeded thirty rooms in capacity, the first hotel appeared in the United States in 1829 when the 170-room Tremont House was opened in Boston.[1] More than mere lodging stops for travelers, nineteenth-century hotels were once dwelling places or homes for the nation's migratory and transitory population. As such they reflected the restless and fluidity of the dynamic American economy.[2]

In the years following the Gold Rush of 1849, the California landscape dramatically reflected the growing importance of the hotel as an institution of lodging. Hotels sprang up at every crossroad to accommodate miners, sailors, merchants, and adventurers who poured into California in unprecedented numbers. By the year 1851, the sight of the countless new lodging houses of all descriptions prompted one citizen to remark that California "might be called the Hotel State, so completely is she inundated with taverns, boarding houses, etc."[3] To enthusiastic Californians, many from East Coast urban centers, the multi-storied, multi-roomed hotels symbolized a kind of permanency in the midst of nearly overwhelming social flux.

In Stockton, a stopping-off center on the way to the gold fields and the Sierra Nevada, several excellent, well-appointed hotels were erected in the 1850's, bearing such names as the Magnolia, Weber House, Dickerson House, and Stockton House.[5] When the Stockton opened in 1851, it was acclaimed to be the finest hotel in California. Built of hardwood lumber shipped to California via Cape Horn and costing the astronomical sum of $110,000, it maintained its fine reputation for nearly twenty years until it burned to the ground in 1871.[6]

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In 1869, however, another hotel was constructed in Stockton which eclipsed even the Stockton House in excellence of accommodations and service. This new hotel was the Yo Semite House, begun in 1868 and completed the following year at a cost of $40,000.[7] The Yo Semite formally opened for business on July 5, 1869, although promotional advertisements in local newspapers heralded the opening several weeks in advance.[8] Located on the north side of Main between Sutter and San Joaquin streets, the Yo Semite was billed as "the largest and most elegantly furnished [hotel] in the San Joaquin Valley."[9]

Undeniably, the Yo Semite was a lavish hotel. Commanding a frontage of 102 feet on Main Street, the building consisted of two separate wings, each having a depth of 60 feet, and a central structure 100 feet deep. Its first floor boasted a reading room and an office, along with a barbershop and bathrooms, a well-stocked saloon, a kitchen, and a dining room with a seating capacity for 120 guests. The second floor held a public parlor and ten private suites, each elaborately appointed with oak, rosewood and walnut furniture, marble washbowls, and cold running water. Every sleeping room was well-ventilated and equipped with gas, running water, and call bells. Speaking tubes in each hallway provided communications with the main office on the first floor.[10] Employing every possible device to insure the guests' comfort, the hotel was an immediate success. Business was so brisk that

Citizens and travelers alike, proud of their association with the Yo Semite, posed for this photograph taken from Main Street. The hotel's coach service carried travelers to the railway station and boat dock.

sixty-one guests registered within five days of the hotel's opening.[11]

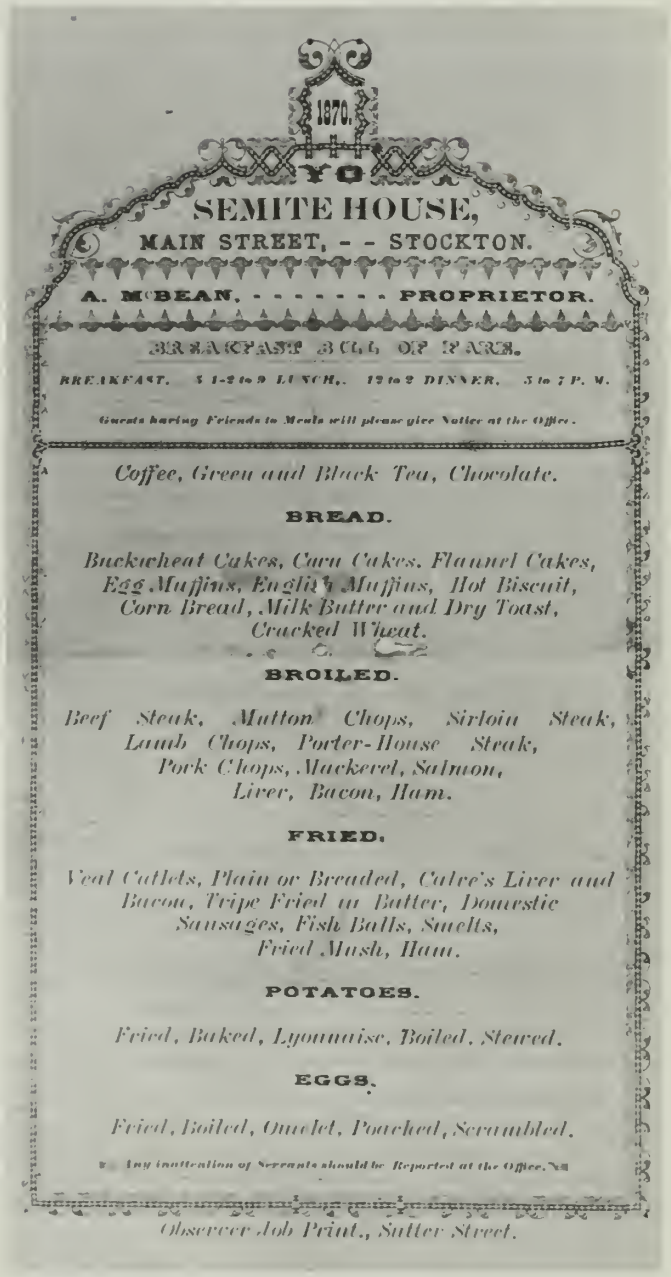
Many Yo Semite guests were intrepid tourists intent on journeying to the "Big Trees" at Mariposa and the fledgling vacation spot called the Yo Semite Valley, from which the hotel derived its colorful name. The federal government had turned over management of the Yo Semite Valley to the state of California on June 30, 1864, five years before the hotel opened, and the area was finally declared a national park in 1890 and the name shortened to the single word, Yosemite.[12] Accordingly, the Yo Semite House offered daily stagecoaches departing for the Valley and "all parts of the interior," and tourism remained a mainstay of the hotel's business.[13] The staff maintained a general ticket office for travelers, and the hotel advertised that "particular attention will be given to the furnishing of superior conveyances to the Big Trees, Yosemite, or any other point in the interior."[14]

Over the years Yo Semite House Hotel enjoyed a profitable trade, despite formidable competition from hotels including the Russ House (which opened in 1868), the What Cheer House (1869), the Commercial Hotel (1875), and the Sherman House (1891).[15] Describing itself as the only first-class hotel in the city," the Yo Semite charged rates of from $2–$3 per day for sleeping rooms and suites.[16] Twenty-five years later, the Yo Semite boasted that it remained the "Leading Hotel in Stockton."[17]

The hotel's restaurant, at one time called the Tourists' Restaurant, was hailed in 1883 as "the place to go when you are hungry." Hearty meals were served to diners who sat down at

> tables supplied with all of the delicacies to be found in this and the San Francisco Markets, and none but the most experienced cooks and other help are employed.... A specialty is made from fresh Baltimore oysters; also California oysters on hand.[18]

Other shops including jewelry and cigar stores flourished in the "Yo Semite Block,"[19] but the Yo Semite


1870.

YO SEMITE HOUSE,

MAIN STREET, - - STOCKTON.

A. McBEAN, - - - - - - - PROPRIETOR.

BREAKFAST BILL OF FARE.

BREAKFAST. 6 1-2 to 9 LUNCH. 12 to 2 DINNER. 5 to 7 P. M.

Guests having Friends to Meals will please give Notice at the Office.

Coffee, Green and Black Tea, Chocolate.

BREAD.

Buckwheat Cakes, Corn Cakes, Flannel Cakes, Egg Muffins, English Muffins, Hot Biscuit, Corn Bread, Milk Butter and Dry Toast, Cracked Wheat.

BROILED.

Beef Steak, Mutton Chops, Sirloin Steak, Lamb Chops, Porter-House Steak, Pork Chops, Mackerel, Salmon, Liver, Bacon, Ham.

FRIED.

Veal Cutlets, Plain or Breaded, Calve's Liver and Bacon, Tripe Fried in Butter, Domestic Sausages, Fish Balls, Smelts, Fried Mush, Ham.

POTATOES.

Fried, Baked, Lyonnaise, Boiled, Stewed.

EGGS.

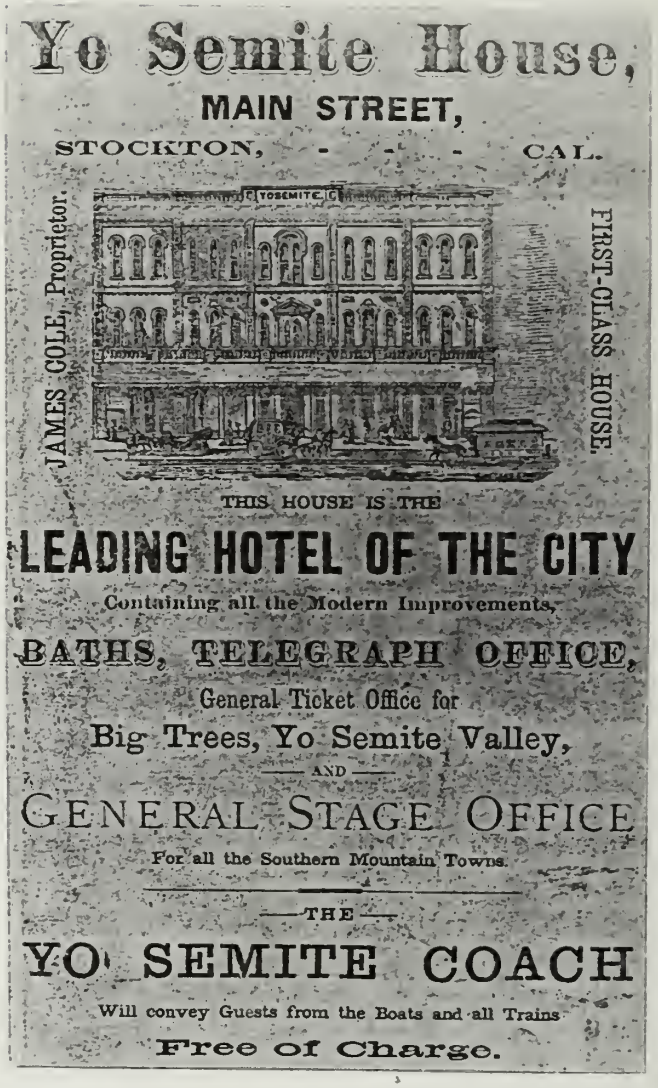
Fried, Boiled, Omelet, Poached, Scrambled.

☞ Any inattention of Servants should be Reported at the Office. ☜

Observer Job Print., Sutter Street.

The Yo Semite's hearty "Breakfast Bill of Fare" closely resembles a modern dinner menu.

Frequent newspaper advertisements boasted the hotel's fine accommodations. The full-page ad appeared in Stockton's City Directory for 1876.



Saloon was undoubtedly the most lucrative establishment on the entire hotel block. A popular watering place, its patronage was encouraged by almost daily advertisements in local newspapers:[20]

THIS NEW AND MAGNIFICENT Saloon in the Yo Semite House has been fitted in the best style by the proprietors. . . . The bar will be supplied with none but the best Wines, Liquors and Cigars to be had in the market, and every effort will be made to give satisfaction to all who patronize the establishment. There are two fine BILLIARD TABLES connected with the saloon. The proprietors are determined to spare no pains to make this the favorite saloon in Stockton.[21]

Perhaps customers found solace in the saloon's motto: "Always on hand."[22]

For decades the Yo Semite served as a well-known Stockton landmark, and Stockton citizens and strangers alike gave directions using the hotel as a guidepost. Merchants and businessmen assisted potential customers in locating their establishments by describing themselves in advertisements as "next to Yo Semite House" or "Opp[osite] Yo Semite."[23]

Famous visitors to Stockton inevitably became guests of the Yo Semite House, and a glance at the hotel register reveals the names of many notables of the day.[24] Unquestionably the most illustrious visitor was ex-President Ulysses S. Grant, who returned from a visit to the Orient and stopped over in Stockton on September 30, 1879.

A General Committee of Arrangements and a Grand Marshall coordinated the fanfare and festivities attending Grant's visit. Public schools were dismissed for the entire day so that the children could assemble at Hunter Street Square to be reviewed by Grant as he passed on his way to a large banquet at the Yo Semite House.[25]

Met at the profusely decorated railway station by a huge, cheering crowd, Grant and his entourage proceeded through Stockton accompanied by a band, a military escort, and Stockton dignitaries. At Hunter Street Square, the *Daily Independent* reported, Grant "descended from his carriage and reviewed the little people, to their intense delight."[26]

The procession then moved on to the Yo Semite House for a formal banquet which the Stockton *Daily Independent* described in some detail[6]

At about 4:30 P.M. the doors of the dining room of the Yo Semite were opened to those who had been invited to partake of a collation with the Ex-President. The dining hall was very tastefully decorated, Mr. Cole, the proprietor, having spared no pains to make every preparation necessary for the occasion . . . [and the guests partook] . . . of the excellent and sumptuous collation prepared by their host. [27]

Following Grant's rousing, well-received speech and rounds of toasts, Grant and his party returned to the train station and departed from Stockton at about seven o'clock that same evening. "Thus ended one of the most eventful days Stockton has ever seen."[28]

Such banner days, however, soon ended for the Yo Semite. With the construction of the elaborate Hotel Stockton in 1910, the Yo Semite, which had been declining for several years, was converted into a rooming house. Several years later the building was remodeled and its name changed to the Philson Hotel, but its historic lustre had irreparably faded.[29]

On July 29, 1923, the entire Yo Semite block was destroyed in a gigantic fire which killed one man, injured fifteen others, and caused an estimated $1,000,000 in damage. In the then-largest fire in Stockton history, the Yo Semite met its fiery and perhaps merciful end.[30]

The engraving of Yo Semite House is by permission Howell-North Books, Thompson and West, *History of San Joaquin County, California* (reprint, 1968); photographs of hotel from Martin, *Stockton Album Through the Years* (1969), by permission Dr. R. Coke Wood, Pacific Center for Western Historical Studies; and menu from the collection of the author.

Notes

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7. V. Covert Martin, *Stockton Album Through the Years* (Stockton, 1959), p. 109.
8. *Stockton Daily Independent*, July 5, 1869, p. 4, col. 2, and earlier issues.
9. Martin, *Stockton Album*, 109; *Daily Independent*, July 9, 1869, p. 4, col. 2.
10. Martin, *Stockton Album*, 109, Tinkham, *History of San Joaquin County*, 196. Martin gives the dining-room capacity at 110 guests.
11. *Daily Independent*, July 10, 1869, p. 2, col. 4.
12. *U.S. Statutes*, 13:325, 26:478, 650–652.
13. *Daily Independent*, July 10, 1869, p. 2, col. 4.
14. *Daily Independent*, July 2, 1872; June 25, 1891, p. 2, col. 5.
15. Martin, *Stockton Album*, 109–110.
16. *Daily Independent*, August 12, 1887, p. 4, col. 3; *Stockton Daily Express*, October 16, 1888, p. 2, col. 5.
17. *Stockton Record*, November 17, 1894, p. 2, col. 6; June 15, 1895, p. 2, col. 2.
18. *Daily Independent*, May 2, 1883, p. 4, col. 1.
19. *Daily Independent*, April 29, 1870, p. 3, col. 5: May 5, 1870, p. 3, col. 8; *Daily Express*, February 4, 1889, p. 4, col. 4.
20. *Stockton Gazette*, August 13, 1869, p. 2, col. 5; *Daily Independent*, January 1, 1870, p. 2, col. 8; April 29, 1870, p. 4, col. 1. Advertisements for the saloon ran in more than one local paper and far outstripped the number of advertisements for the hotel or restaurant.
21. *Daily Independent*, April 29, 1870, p. 4, col. 1.
22. *Daily Independent*, May 1, 1883, p. 2, col. 8. The Yo Semite Saloon's popularity is even more surprising considering the fact that Stockton supported 102 saloons in 1906, which were open every day of the week. James Miller Guinn, *History of the State of California and Biographical Record of San Joaquin County*, I (Los Angeles, 1909):302.
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24. Martin, *Stockton Album*, 110.
25. *Daily Independent*, September 29, 1879, p. 2, col. 3.
26. *Daily Independent*, October 1, 1879, p. 3, col. 1–3.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
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REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Joseph M. Petulla

Paul Wallace Gates, Historian of Public Land Policy

Although the history of the American frontier has been shaped in large measure by federal and state land policies, historians of western Americana have rarely directed their attention to complex land-policies questions. The same generalization holds true in California historiography, which makes it especially felicitous that it is an easterner, Paul Wallace Gates, who has shown us the critical historical importance of research into the contradictions and effects of land-disposal policies in California. As Gates himself acknowledges, the story has no end, but in his long career he has accomplished the herculean task of establishing a sturdy framework within which future historians might work to expand understanding of this nationwide historical experience.

Born in 1901, Paul Gates attended Colby College, Clark University, and the University of Wisconsin, and he completed his academic training at Harvard University where his doctoral research became the pioneering study, *The Illinois Railroad and Its Colonization Work* (1934; reprint, 1974). In this book Gates places the controversy about the first congressional railroad land grant of 1850 into its historical context and then shows how the railroad promoted the sale of its lands by attracting American and foreign settlers. A secondary theme which emerges in the latter part of the book—illegal speculation by company insiders—has been a thread in much of Gates' work since this study. The ways in which speculators foiled the purposes of governmental policy designed to provide settlers with cheap or free land loom large in his more recent California investigations.

In the 1930's Dr. Gates taught at Bucknell University, worked for the federal Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and began his long career at Cornell University (from which he retired in 1971). In these years

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the young historian produced two seminal articles—"Recent Land Policies of the Federal Government" and "The Homestead Law in an Incongruous Land System"—which hinted at the path of his future research. In these works he showed that the major "roots of maladjustment" in federal land policy were derived from the contradictory purposes of land legislation. One purpose was to supply the federal government with revenue; another was to grant pre-emption rights to settlers. Still others were to provide incentives for railroad construction, encourage state development and education, and support democratic ideals associated with homesteading. In practice, however, as laws were layered upon laws, the government's magnanimous gestures toward settlers became submerged, because settlers could not adequately compete against the inside knowledge and capital of individual and company speculators. Throughout his academic career, Dr. Gates has pursued the many implications of these original insights, and his most complete and refined statement, an 828-page monumental work titled *History of Public Land Law Development*, was published for the United States Public Land Law Commission in 1968.

Disbursement of public land in California was not unlike the process in the three other states—Illinois, Kansas, and Wisconsin—which Professor Gates first studied to understand the contradictions inherent in land laws. In *Fifty Million Acres* (1954; reprint, 1966), for example, he describes the convoluted events whereby land in Kansas fell into the hands of speculators, resulting by 1871 in the railroads owning one-fifth of Kansas (including Indian treaty lands) while settlers vainly searched for isolated parcels on which to stake their homestead claims. Gates was later to find that California settlers faced a similar plight.

In his investigations over the years, Dr. Gates also has uncovered a strong relationship between the histories of public land and agriculture, one which he graphically draws in his superb book, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815–1860* (1960). One obvious connection is the existence, today and yesterday, of large-scale farming on what were formerly public lands, discussed in "Corporation Farming in California" (1973). Behind the nineteenth-century protests against government land sales to speculators and giveaways to railroads—as well as the sustained conflict, even warfare, over land titles—were tens of thousands of people who wanted to farm their own land. Federal policies directly affected the possibilities of having these dreams fulfilled, but so also did the problems of markets, transportation, technology, labor, agricultural science, and education. A sympathetic investigator, Gates analyzes all of these facets with sensitivity and originality.

Another groundbreaking Gates study, *Agriculture and the Civil War* (1965), reveals the importance of agriculture in the resolution of that national conflict and describes historic congressional legislation in the areas of land policy and agriculture, including the 1862 Morrill Act which authorized land-grant colleges and agricultural education; the establishment of an independent Department of Agriculture; land grants to transcontinental railroads; and the Homestead Act of 1862. While Gates' earlier writings on the Homestead law focused on how it opened the door to abuses by creating an "incongruous land system," this 1965 work and others (notably for the 1962 Homestead Act centennial celebration in Lincoln, Nebraska) point out the value and successes of the law. These recent studies prove its benefits to settlers east of the Mississippi and to homesteaders west of the river (including California) who settled on parcels of 160 to 320 acres in size.

In Professor Gates' writings devoted to land policy in California, studies begun in the late 1950's, he raises important questions about the effects of large land ownerships and speculative purchases on state land problems. His research shows that California settlers suffered many of the same harsh effects of the incongruous land system, but that their experiences differed in a few important respects.



Paul Wallace Gates, historian of government land policies

Many scholars have distinguished California's land history from that of other states because the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which ended the war with Mexico required that Mexican land grants and property be "inviolably respected." Land patterns, therefore, were already partially established by the time the United States government began to sell or give land to new settlers. Gates observes, however, that a similar situation existed in the Louisiana Purchase region (including Missouri), where the British and Spanish held claims, and even in other regions of the West and Southwest that were ceded after the Mexican War. He makes the strong point that in the case of the earlier cessions, no problems of similar magnitude ensued during the decades when conflicting land claims were being settled.

The difference in California, Gates shows, resulted from the rapid and extraordinary influx of settlers after 1848 (one-third million in twelve years), which delayed for a decade the establishment of procedures and attempts to begin adjudication of conflicting land claims. In the interim, speculation raged rampantly, settlers engaged in bloody warfare, unclaimed land was monopolized or grabbed up in undue quantities, government policies were confounded, and men like Henry George cried to heaven for justice. These are the key themes which Paul Gates clarifies and develops in his writings on California land policy.

Close to 800 grants totaling 13 million acres were given away by the Spanish and Mexican governments before California entered the Union, and the boundaries of most of these grants were vague and overlapping. Because most of the early (and disappointed) Argonauts were Americans, they turned to their familiar practice of squatting on and improving land in hopes of buying the land at the minimum government prices when title became free. In the end, most of the squatters lost the gamble, but they did not know it until many heartbreaking years had passed.

A congressional resolution of the matter had been delayed while the settlers' lobbyist, California Senator William Gwin of the Judiciary Committee, dealt with the powerful Thomas Hart Benton, whose son-in-law, John C. Frémont, already held a large and valuable claim. Gwin and the settlers wanted a strict testing of the old claims, demanding that they conform completely to all of the legal requirements before title be granted to the original applicants; Benton supported an indulgent testing. The Gwin Committee drafted a bill, passed in 1851, which employed a decision-making method used in other states where estates had been held under former governments. It set up a land commission, before which claimants could validate title to their lands. The commission's decision could be appealed to the federal courts.

Gates' careful examination of the evidence indicates that the commission and the courts proved lenient in their testing even of questionable early claims, and all holdings that could show minimum compliance with one condition of the original grant were upheld. As Gates demonstrates, the slow rate of resolution of these cases by the commission and subsequent appeals only compounded the problems of land dispersal.

In his investigation of the claim settlements, Gates focuses on one particularly important factor, the "right of occupancy" question. Occupancy laws, which gave settlers the right to be repaid for improvements they

made on land subsequently proved to be owned by others, were common in eastern states. Hence, it was not unusual that settlers in California should seek the same protection, and it was provided by the California legislature in 1856. In the following year, however, the law was struck down by the California Supreme Court on the grounds that it violated the federal constitution's contract clause. In Gates' articles, "California's Embattled Settlers" (1962) and the important "Tenants of the Log Cabin" (presented to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1962), Gates traces the history of the rights of occupancy laws in Kentucky, Vermont, and Tennessee, their voiding by the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Green* v. *Biddle* in 1821, the obdurate refusal of the states to obey the Court's order, and the final voiding of the California law because of its extreme language (even settlers without "color of title" were covered). As a result of the decision, the ultimate beneficiaries of the squatters' improvements were not required to reimburse for them, and even larger holdings could be bought with their savings. Gates believes this Court decision indirectly paved the way for the establishment of the great estates in California.

A second and related factor encouraging engrossment by large land claimants in California resulted from Congress' enactment of the Suscol Act of 1866. The act allowed the men who had bought land from Mexican claims—claims which had later been nullified by the commission but which the men had "used, improved, and continued in possession of"—to purchase that land from the government for the minimal price of $1.25 per acre. By this date only very large landholders remained in the bidding for the land, and the General Land Office and the courts permitted holdings as large as 5,000 acres to be "pre-empted," whether or not significant improvements had been made. Gates tells this important story of land concentration in his article, "The Suscol Principle, Pre-Emption and California Latifundia" (1970).

As Gates has recently shown, California's land story deviated from the national scripting in another important way. Although the Homestead Act was not passed until 1862, settlers before that date in Florida and New Mexico (including Arizona) had received 160 acres of free land, and pioneers in Oregon had been granted at no cost 320 acres if single, 640 acres if married. In California, the most settlers could hope for were "pre-emption" rights to lands on which they lived and had improved. Most undisputed lands in California were not given to settlers, however, but were offered for sale by President James Buchanan between 1857 and 1860. Faced with a budget deficit, Buchanan placed 44 million acres of public land on the market (over 11 million acres in California) which could be, and were, purchased in unlimited amounts. After the Homestead Act was passed, this acreage was not removed from this category so as to be offered free to homesteaders, and the land steadily increased in value until 1867 when bankers and other capitalists began to buy up the "offered" lands in large allotments. Through diligent research Gates has discovered that many holdings of 10,000 to 100,000 acres and a few as large as hundreds of thousands of acres were purchased after 1867. Gates reports these new findings in "California Land Policy in Its Historical Context: The Henry George Era" (1977).

During the 1860's California also offered for sale the 8,430,732 acres of school, college and swamp land granted it by the federal government. State officials made "swamp land" designations into a joke, and an illegal one at that, by including both dry and unsurveyed lands and sometimes allowing private individuals to purchase territory before the federal government was informed of the selection. Hence, both federal and state agents frequently sold the same lands.

Gates' comprehensive article, "Public Land Disposal in California" (1975), details the myriad ways in which insiders, speculators, and engrossers could gain control of huge blocks of land despite legal requirements (as in the "swamp lands" program) restricting purchasers to 320 acres per person. Dummy entrymen were most often

used to file for lands, and the state land office made no effort to investigate and enforce the laws limiting purchases. Gates writes about the procedures in the tradition of Henry George who decried the large engrossments and "monopolistic holdings" in his *Our Land and Land Policy* (1871) and other writings in the *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*.

While the story of how settlers lost millions of acres of land to speculators, lumbermen, and insiders is complex and detailed—a process once described by the *Alta California* as the "corrupt practices of landgrabbers in league with faithless local officers"—Gates' scholarly articles and books creatively utilize an extraordinary variety of primary materials. Gates sifts federal, state, and local land-office records; census schedules; private correspondence; land company and railroad documents; newspapers, journals, advertisements, handbills, and pamphlets; volumes of state historical societies and agricultural societies; county histories; biographies of leading local personalities; and maps and original platbooks.

As a detective seeking to uncover the names of large land buyers, Gates usually starts with public land offices. (He still lights up when he recalls the time fifty years ago when he saw his first abstract of a cash entry at the Federal Land District Office in Springfield, Illinois.) Then he might travel to Washington, D.C., to investigate ownership records and peruse the entry books and office records of the twenty-nine public land states, noting where the names reappear. State land office documents, which record about 8 per cent of the total public land sales, often hold the key to many land riddles, as Gates had demonstrated in his California research. Next, he examines county deeds to determine what has finally become of land bought for speculative purposes, whether and how it was transferred, and how long it was held. (A few very large holdings have remained in the same family for over 100 years.) Finally, he completes the picture with information from local historical societies, museums, libraries, and nineteenth-century historical atlases.

In his long career, Professor Gates estimates he has looked at more than 50,000 deeds (He will gladly demonstrate his technique of "speed-skimming). At age seventy-five, he is relentless in his search for the answers to basic land questions which he regards as keys to understanding American history. Present and future California historians must be grateful for his scholarship, insight, and inspiration which have set standards for the entire profession.

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Harvesting beans in Inglewood c.1900 on a typically large California farm.

Book Reviews

The American Farm: A Photographic History.

By Maisie and Richard Conrat. (Boston: California Historical Society and Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977. 256 pp. Photographs. Paper $9.95, cloth $17.95.)

Reviewed by James H. Shideler, *Professor of History and Director of the Agricultural History Center, University of California, Davis.*

Here is something much more important than an intriguing coffee-table picture book. This photographic image of American agricultural history begins with the 1850's, early enough to show an archaic form of farm life with ox teams, broadcast sowing of grain by hand, spinning wheels, and slaves. This story, from before the Civil War to the present, touches upon the self-sufficient yeoman farmer, the South's plantation heritage, the prairie and plains frontier, commercialization and mechanization, migrant farm labor, and the impact of technology. For several years the authors built up a collection of about 4,000 photographs from widely dispersed sources, and along the way they acquainted themselves intimately with the history of agricultural diversity and change. From their collection of prints the authors carefully selected 165 pictures and wove around them short and long legends plus forty-seven pages of closely packed narrative.

The book is a reflection and an extension of a large traveling exhibit with the same title which opened simultaneously at the Oakland Museum and the Chicago Museum of Commerce and Industry in January, 1977, with the sponsorship of the California Historical Society. The exhibits and the book together will make an impression perhaps surpassing that of Maisie and Richard Conrat's earlier photographic essay, *Executive Order 9066*, on the Japanese-American relocation in World War II.



Some viewers will delight in the antique charm of a bygone way of life shown in many pictures. Some will wonder at the immense amount of human labor and the deprivations that evidently went into the building of the nation's agricultural sector. Others will be troubled by seeing a course of historical development that appears dehumanizing, dangerously overspecialized, and mistakenly dependent upon fossil fuels and petrochemicals. The agricultural college, experiment station, and agribusiness establishment, if their representatives study the book, will be pained and perhaps nudged into more thoughtful responses than the customary celebration of miracles in productivity.

Every picture carries a message, and they were sensitively selected with that in mind. A few familiar photos (for example, the Oklahoma land rushers) were unavoidable. The Dorothea Lange selections have lost none of their power with the passing of time. Poignancy seems to have been a strong selective factor. There is scarcely a smiling face in the whole book, though some faces show satisfaction. Most pictures of recent agriculture in California show no people at all, and pictures of machinery appear chosen for their harshness and impersonality. The narrative provides an eloquent foreshortened history of American farming with much left out but with a breathtaking sweep and even a poetic appreciation. The authors accept the Paul W. Gates and Paul S. Taylor view that "wealthy investors and speculators" have plagued the yeoman farmer and that in agriculture's development "the most powerful interests won the largest prize." The chapters and pictures devoted to family farms are all positive: "Agriculture . . . yielded not only crops but also a spiritual and cultural harvest." The chapters and pictures on the Southern plantation, sharecroppers, and migratory labor are all negative: "The seasonal worker has enabled enormous wealth to be accumulated, but his share in that wealth has been meager."

The American Farm appears at a time when agricultural policy has become a much more lively public issue, especially in California. It poses a question which is not addressed directly: what kind of agriculture should we have? The authors seem to favor turning the clock back toward the small, balanced, organic family farm of forty or more years ago. To be sure, agriculture must be conservative in its utilization of soil and water resources and petrochemicals and fuel, but it must also conserve labor and maintain high productivity of fiber and wholesome food. There is an unresolved dilemma here. Labor-saving devices and efficiency are good ideas. Agriculture's modernization has resulted in a great migration of people from the agricultural countryside to the city where, by and large, they are better off. The authors emphasize the social costs but not the gains: "In the name of progress and efficiency our countryside has been turned over to machines and technology. And our population . . . in large part has lost the beauty and the joys and the peace of the land." Maisie and Richard Conrat's exhibit and book jab at our conscience and forcefully insist that the direction of the nation's agriculture, and indeed all of the values of modernization, be reconsidered.

All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855–1975.

By Charles M. Wollenberg. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. vi, 201 pp. Index. $10.00.)

Reviewed by Doris R. Fine, *director of a National Institute of Education research project on desegregation in Bay Area school districts and a doctoral candidate in education and sociology at University of California, Berkeley.*

"When inequality of conditions is the common law of society, the most marked inequalities do not strike the eye; when everything is on the same level, the slightest are marked enough to hurt it. Hence the desire for equality always becomes more insatiable in proportion as equality is more complete." Exactly how far Tocqueville's words apply to social change in America can be assessed by reading Charles Wollenberg's clear and comprehensive history of the gradual erosion of the moral and legal bases for exclusion and segregation of racial minorities and of the development of equality of conditions within the public schools of California. In this state, where nearly one-third of the population consists of racial and ethnic minority peoples, public policy has evolved from a posture of oppression and discrimination to one of grudging toleration and, in some instances, positive acceptance.

The passion for equality has been a driving force and condition for this achievement. Wollenberg stresses the active role minority persons assumed in their own behalf, demanding

more equal opportunity in the schools, usually by undertaking legal action and appealing to the minds and consciences of public officials, but also by exerting direct political leverage. (One of Wollenberg's many human-interest vignettes concerns President Theodore Roosevelt's remarkable intervention in San Francisco school affairs at the behest of the Japanese government.)

The sources of resistance to equal educational opportunity, by implication the more established social groups, and the rationale for the systematic bias against racial and ethnic minorities are not highlighted, nor are the severe consequences of the injustices brought to our attention. The reader is invited not to judge the racial motives behind oppressive or assimilationist policies, but rather to regard the struggle for equality as one engaging both school segregationists and integrationists. "It may be more accurate to say that throughout the state's history there has been a conflict between those who have seen the schools as universal and unifying institutions and those who have seen the schools as particularist and separated institutions," writes Wollenberg. Exclusion and segregation are treated as the unintended consequences of the pursuit of such worthy aims as community involvement and local control. However, the story that emerges from this history of "separate but equal" treatment of blacks and Mexicans, the exclusion and segregation of children of the "yellow peril," the relocation of Japanese families during World War II, and the annihilation of the Indian culture—this history makes its own point as to the cruelty of the people and institutions responsible. In contrast, the courage and perseverance of those afflicted, and their slow and painful struggle for recognition, respect, and equal treatment, is a testament to the qualities of human grace and dignity which, unlike social and economic privileges, are distributed among people of all racial and ethnic groups.

That the struggle is today incomplete, that the remnants of racism and reaction still exert a powerful influence over educational policy and practice, motivated Wollenberg's successful effort to shed historical light on the current controversies over "forced busing" and "neighborhood schools." Also, the moral and legal principles upon which the progress toward equal opportunity was founded are today subject to sharp political pressures, aided by research that belittles the contribution of schooling to social change. Insofar as these attacks erode public confidence, they undermine commitment to equality of opportunity. However, Wollenberg's historical account, though it documents the snail-like "deliberate speed" of progress, also makes lucid the undaunted resolve toward full and dignified participation by every racial group. Together with Richard Kluger's *Simple Justice*, a stunning history of the legal struggle behind the Brown decision, *All Deliberate Speed* renews our capacity for hope in the eventual triumph of racial justice in the schools.

The California of George Gordon and the 1849 Sea Voyages of his California Association.

By Albert Shumate. Foreword by Richard Dillon. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1976. 271 pp. Illustrations. $9.50.)

Reviewed by Kevin Starr *at The Huntington Library.*

As Richard Dillon points out so pertinently in his superb foreword, much good California history has been done by amateurs, men and women motivated solely by love of the subject. Albert Shumate, a San Francisco physician and former trustee and president of the California Historical Society, has made such a contribution in his long-awaited biography of George Gordon. This is a wonderful book. As biography it is both engaged and balanced. As a piece of research it is a *tour de force*. As writing, it is vigorous and graceful. As useful history, as insight, that is, into what forces shaped California of the 1850's, it makes a valuable contribution.

George Gordon was a slightly more than ordinary man who did many more-than-ordinary things in frontier San Francisco. Due to Gertrude Atherton, he existed in historical memory as a semi-legendary figure. In her first piece of published fiction, "The Randolphs of Redwoods," a longish short story published in 1883 in Frank Pixley's *The Argonaut*, Atherton depicted George Gordon as an English scapegrace nobleman who had come to California after marrying a barmaid while on a spree. His wife, in turn, fed their only daughter on secret doses of brandy, making of her an alcoholic in revenge for her husband's post-spree contempt for his base-born bride. Atherton later expanded the legend in *A Daughter of the Vine* (1899), which, incidentally, for all its faults, including the perpetration of the Gordon pseudo-history, is a rather successful and spirited account of San

Francisco social life in the 1850's and '60's. Doctor Shumate spent ten years of scholarly detective work peeling away the rinds of the Atherton version of George Gordon's life and finding the kernel of truth within. The George Gordon he presents is well worth the resuscitation. Born George Cummings in 1826 (we can only speculate why he changed his name when he left England), George Gordon married in 1843 not a barmaid, but the very respectable accountant's daughter, Elizabeth Anne Clark of Middlesex. The couple had one daughter, Helen Mae, the model for Gertrude Atherton's tragic heroine. Gordon supported his family in the mid-1840's as an importer of tea.

In 1848, we find him in New York under a new name, George Gordon, organizing an association for a voyage to California. The transition has eluded even the probing of Doctor Shumate's patient, persistent scalpel. But no matter: the very abruptness and anonymity of Cummings' Californianization is emblematic. An entire generation, the Gold Rush generation, poured into California out of obscure, complex motivation: men escaping the law (Doctor Shumate suggests that Cummings-Gordon might have gotten in trouble for smuggling tea), men escaping the boredom and routine of jobs and family, men who had never quite connected and were thus desperate for one last chance. Arriving in San Francisco, George Gordon became one of the city's founding fathers, part of the generation of tradesmen grown by necessity into entrepreneurs which saw San Francisco from frontier to provincial status. By the time of his death in 1869, George Gordon—and San Francisco—had accomplished a number of things. He had established an iron foundry. He plotted, promoted, and sold South Park, the city's district of fashion and elegance through the 1860's. He founded and directed a sugar refinery employing more than 300 men, laying the foundations of an important Bay Area industry. He wrote innumerable pamphlets and newspaper articles on topics ranging from law and order to the art and science of earthquake-proofing. He helped develop San Mateo and Santa Clara counties as country seats for the urban rich.

Gordon was a hard-driving, hard-drinking, nearly obsessed man, typical of the overworked and overworking generation of the 1850's and '60's. This, after all, was San Francisco's Iron Age, the time of commercial foundation, the time of Darwinian struggle. For all the achievement of his career, something is not quite right in George Gordon as Albert Shumate develops him. An undercurrent of sadness and defeat pushes against the statistics of sugar refining and growing bank accounts. Gordon drank heavily (it was a heavy-drinking generation). His widow succumbed to alcoholism. His daughter made an ill-fated marriage which broke his heart.

What Albert Shumate has given us in this lively biography is that peculiar epic of the ordinary raised to the extraordinary which is at the core of San Francisco's foundation. Gordon and the others pushed—they pushed hard—and they paid the price in strain and outright breakdown. Destroying Gertrude Atherton's legend, Shumate has discovered something better: the story of a complex, neurotic man who helped build a great city. George Gordon is William Ralston—in reverse: cautious where Ralston was flamboyant; secretive where Ralston trumpeted his goals; a tradesman by temperament, whereas Ralston was by birth and destiny a tragic hero. Ralston is the high drama of San Francisco's commercial founding; Gordon, the steady, patient plodding. Ralston over-reached: Gordon never exceeded his limits. It is something of importance regarding the understanding of San Francisco to say that both men ended miserably.

Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817–1832.

Translated with introduction and notes by Basil Dmytryshyn and E.A.P. Crownhart-Vaughan. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976. viii, 158 pp. Illustrations, maps. Paper $6.50, cloth $12.00.)

Reviewed by C. Bickford O'Brien, *Professor Emeritus of Russian history, University of California, Davis.*

Growing awareness of Russian interests in the North Pacific has stimulated a further search for source materials on early Russian explorations and settlements in North America. In this second volume of a series inaugurated five years ago by the Oregon Historical Society to make little known works on the North Pacific available in English, an important eyewitness account of the Russian settlements at Sitka and Fort Ross has been brought out of oblivion. The author, K. T. Khlebnikov, spent half his life in the employ of the Russian American Company, including seventeen years as office manager of the company's American headquarters at Sitka.

From there he traveled to Russian outposts in the Aleutians and other island groups off the Alaskan mainland and to Russian and Spanish settlements in California. In this first volume of his reports, based on observations of conditions in the settlements and on conversations with Russian administrators, traders, and foreign officials during the years 1817–1832, he directed attention to the pressing problems of resources and provisionment faced by the Russian colonists.

The new volume of the reports is an English edition of two parts of the manuscript first published in Russia in 1861 with eight appendices and illustrative materials added. In a subsequent volume the balance of the six-part report will be translated and published for the first time. Along with the recent English edition of Khlebnikov's biography of Alexander Baranov prepared by Richard Pierce, some highly useful factual and statistical materials on Russian America have been brought to light.

While many of the conditions described by Khlebnikov in the reports are familiar to readers of Alaskan and California history, new details and insights on the behavioral pattern, social structure, and occupational pursuits of the colonists are provided in a lively manner. There are especially good word pictures of the Tlingit Indian population near New Archangel, Russian shipbuilding activities at Fort Ross, and an encounter between Russian hunters and California Indians near Trinidad Bay. Khlebnikov strongly argued for the Russian retention of Fort Ross as a food base and urged that a commission be dispatched to Mexico to negotiate recognition of the fort as a permanent Russian settlement. He ingenuously foresaw no serious obstacles in accomplishing that goal.

Giving new life to the largely forgotten Khlebnikov reports and embellishing them with attractive drawings, photographs, and charts is surely a praiseworthy effort for which the editors and publishers are to be commended. One hopes, nonetheless, that in the second volume under preparation certain minor flaws of style, ambiguity, and reproduction can be eliminated. The English text would obviously have benefited from more sensitive editing. In some instances the narrative seems broken off without explanation, as on pp. 106–107. In the glossary we are told that the term "Americans" when used by Russians refers to "American natives"; in the reports it often refers to citizens of the United States. The volume also contains many splendid maps, but among them are several whose place names are unintelligible. Notwithstanding these relatively picayunish defects, the work constitutes a solid contribution to the literature on Russian America and to a better understanding of Russian attitudes toward their American colonies.

As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by The Franciscan Missionaries, 1813–1815.

Edited and translated by Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.; anthropological notes and appendices by Clement W. Meighan. (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1976. xv, 170 pp. Illustrations. $19.95.)

Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes, *Professor of History at the University of San Francisco, Director of the Archivo Histórico in La Paz, and author of books and articles on the Californias in the Spanish period.*

For volume one of the six-volume Santa Barbara Bicentennial Historical Series under the general editorship of Professor Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Father Maynard Geiger and Professor Clement Meighan have combined their historical and ethnological skills to produce an interesting and informative work based upon documents in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive. These documents, published in their entirety for the first time, are answers to a questionnaire sent on October 6, 1812, by Minister of Overseas Colonies Ciriaco González Carvajal to various Spanish colonial officials throughout the empire, probably to supply information for the reforms envisioned by the constituents in the *cortes* at Cádiz. They provide rare first-hand descriptions of the indigenous cultures as well as missionary problems at eighteen of the twenty Alta California missions, lacking only reports of La Purísima and San Rafael.

This questionnaire comprises a total of thirty-six inquiries, some of which were not applicable to California, requesting information relative to caste, Indian origins, language, family life, reaction to Europeans, means of improving Indian-European relations, virtues, superstitions, idolatry, marriage, medicine and treatment of illness, time measurement, diet, customs, funerary practices, honesty, vices, ceremonies, native government and society, music, concepts of after-life, and mode of dress. While each questionnaire was answered in greater or lesser detail by each individual mis-

sionary, the answers have been arranged geographically under each question from the southernmost mission, San Diego, to the northernmost, San Francisco, thus providing a readable, readily comparative text.

Although some answers are repetitive or quite brief, most are highly illuminating and varied, and as such are a valuable source of ethnological data. The age of the mission, indigenous population, years of service and background of the missionary, of course, affect the answers; nevertheless, the individual subjective, and at times naive, concepts of the missionaries reflecting mission life, as well as statistics, terms, procedure, and status of the development of the mission, provide important historical information.

Excellent early photographs and drawings of mission Indians enhance the text, as do two appendices defining Indian terms used therein and the nature of the eagle ceremony among California Indians. Extensive notes supply biographical data on the missionaries, dates of founding of the missions, definitions of mission terminology, and information relative to the mission *rancherías*. The book is nicely printed, and the edition is limited to five hundred copies.

Written during the midst of the wars of independence and the twilight of the mission period, the descriptions in *As The Padres Saw Them* are an important contribution to the history and ethnology of Spanish California and basic to every collection in that field.

Bay Area Houses.

Edited by Sally Woodbridge. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. 329 pp. Illustrations, index. $29.95.)

An Enduring Heritage: Historical Buildings of the San Francisco Peninsula.

By Dorothy F. Regnery. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976. viii, 124 pp. Illustrations, index, bibliography. $18.95.)

Reviewed by Ferol Egan, *author of the recent history*, Frémont: Explorer for a Restless Nation, *and a novel*, The Taste of Time.

Bay Area Houses is a fine introduction to what has been called "The Bay Area Tradition" in architecture. While the label is imprecise, it does create visions of "a narrow high-pitched gable-roofed house in the Berkeley hills, designed in the early 1900's by Bernard Maybeck, or a boxy wood-sheathed city or suburban house of the late thirties produced by William M. Wurster." To Bay Area dwellers, such houses tend to be located in woodsy settings and to display a liberal amount of redwood sheathing on the outside and redwood panels on the inside. Still, this represents but one aspect of the "Bay Area Tradition."

Bay Area architectural style has gone through distinct phases. The First Phase made use of suburban shingle houses as displayed in homes designed by such men as Ernest Coxhead, John Galen Howard, and Willis Polk. Another aspect of this phase saw the so-called Craftsman movement. In this, the architects made use of exposed wood structures, board-and-batten walls, rough boards or shingles on the outside, and the rough brick fireplaces throughout the homes. Major variations, many in Berkeley, can be seen in the work of Bernard Maybeck, Julia Morgan, and John Hudson Thomas.

The Second Phase of Bay Area Architecture reigned during four time periods, and each period shows a distinctive style. During the 1920's, the Hansel and Gretel cottage enjoyed a time of popularity, and the best of these homes were designed by Henry Gutterson, John Hudson Thomas, and their followers. Then in the 1930's these storybook homes gave way to a wood imagery of rural California, a kind of farm house come to town, as seen in homes designed by Gardner Dailey and William Wurster. Then by the late thirties, the redwood post and beam box became an important feature in homes of that time, and many examples of such dwellings still serve as comfortable dwellings throughout the Bay Area.

As another part of the Second Phase of Bay Area Architecture, the first self-conscious attempts to break away from early influences can be seen in homes of the 1950's and early 1960's. William Wurster and Charles W. Callister did some of the most interesting work, and at times their striking designs combined Maybeck's influence and borrowings from the traditional Japanese home.

By the late 1960's and early 1970's, a Third Phase developed in the work of such men as Charles W. Moore, William Turnbull, and their contemporaries. These men developed the wood-sheathed vertical box—a stylized wooden "mineshaft" which still is used in new homes and condominiums.

Bay Area Houses is an intriguing study of changing home styles, and of upper class preferences that filtered down to the middle class and to such mass housing development builders

The Yelland-Thornberg Village, a unique concept in Bay Area architecture.



as Joseph Eichler. The book's excellent photographs by Morley Baer and Roger Sturtevant add the final touch by giving readers a graphic sense of changing styles, and they help to illustrate the role that talented architects have played in shaping the culture of the Bay Area through the homes they designed for its citizens.

An Enduring Heritage by Dorothy F. Regnery is a labor of love, an attempt to capture the remaining historic buildings of the San Francisco Peninsula before new developments, natural attrition, or disaster cut even deeper into what one of the Community Heritage Project members called "the best of the last."

Supported by the Junior League of Palo Alto and the Historic American Buildings Survey, this project has captured in words and pictures the homes and other buildings that best represent the changing years south of San Francisco. The variety matches the passing years, and it can be seen in such landmarks as the Woodside Store, the Pigeon Point Lighthouse, the Ralston-Sharon House, the Escondité Cottage, and the incredible Green Gables that was built in 1911 "to serve as a summer residence for the Mortimer Fleishhackers."

Through liberal use of photographs plus detailed descriptions, the style of gracious living has been preserved in this Peninsula architectural heritage.

Images of Chinatown: Louis J. Stellman's Chinatown Photographs.

By Richard Dillon. (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1976. 72 pp. Illustrations. $35.00.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, Quarterly *reviews editor.*

Richard Dillon has honored the memory of Louis J. Stellman and served historians well in the process. Stellman was a San Francisco newspaperman who in 1911 began a photographic chronicle of Chinatown, a labor of love which continued for more than twenty years. He was a disciple of Arnold Genthe, the well-known photographer whose pictures of pre-earthquake Chinatown are both artistic and journalistic classics. In a sense, Stellman continued the Genthe tradition, for he began his Chinatown photography in the same year that Genthe left San Francisco for New York.

Genthe was a professional photographer and artist, while Stellman was a gifted amateur and reporter. Judging from the selections in this book, Stellman's photographs were seldom as dramatic and well-conceived as Genthe's, but they are equally valuable as historical documents and examples of pictorial journalism.

Stellman's pictures are particularly important because they focus on a period of Chinatown history often ignored by scholars and writers. Anti-Chinese prejudice was still rampant in California, but the Chinese no longer were the major target of racism and discrimination. Immigration restriction had greatly reduced legal arrivals from Asia, but the first large generation of Chinese Americans was coming of age. Chinatown had become a tourist attraction, and some of its leaders played an important role in the revolutionary politics of China itself. Stellman's photographs reflect his own sympathy for San Francisco's Chinese during this era. He was remarkably free of the prevailing anti-Chinese feeling, and he opposed immigration restriction and other forms of discrimination.

Stellman never was able to publish his pictures in book form. In 1960 he and Richard Dillon discussed such a project, but Stellman died before they found a publisher. Fifteen years later Dillon, as head of the Sutro Library, purchased the photographs on behalf of the state of California. Finally, he was able to begin the book that would illustrate and celebrate Louis Stellman's talents.



Students at San Francisco Chinatown's only public school, c. 1870

The work is superbly designed and produced by Adrian Wilson, and Dillon's text is a graceful and informative companion to the pictures. Unfortunately, this limited edition, available only to members of the Book Club of California, already is out of print. But thanks to the efforts of Richard Dillon, Stellman's Chinatown photographs, as well as his pictures of other California subjects, now reside in the State Library in Sacramento.

Off at Sunrise: The Overland Journal of Charles Glass Gray.

Edited with an introduction by Thomas D. Clark. (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1976. xxx, 185 pp. Index. $12.00.)

Reviewed by James J. Rawls, *Instructor of History at Diablo Valley College, Pleasant Hill, California.*

Charles Glass Gray was a member of the Newark Overland Company which left Independence on May 1, 1849, and arrived in San Francisco more than six months later. Gray's journal is an entertaining and observant account of that crossing. It comments on a host of experiences which readers of gold-rush literature have come to expect: frequent delays caused by sickness, mechanical breakdowns and lost stock, continual littering of the trail with superfluous (and heavy) equipment, difficulties with river crossings, bad water, dust storms, prairie fires, and contentious companions.

While Gray's journal offers little that is unique, it does present some things with great force and clarity. The sense of an actual *rush* to California, for instance, is made plain when the Newark Company breaks camp at three in the morning to get a jump on other Argonauts farther down the trail. Some days their nooning has all the relaxation of a pit stop. Gray also offers a full account of his stopover at Salt Lake City among "the Puritans of the Nineteenth Century." While enjoying the luxuries of a bath and woman-cooked food and expressing admiration for Mormon industry and accomplishment, Gray does note a "tinge of fanaticism" about these peculiar pioneers. Gray's picture of San Francisco in 1849 is of a city slippery with mud and brimming with a bustling cosmopolitan population. Unfortunately, Gray terminates his journal upon arrival in San Francisco, yet in a brief space he summarizes all his impressions of the golden state: "Take the *Arabian Nights, add* to them *Gulliver's Travels* & then *multiply them* by *Baron Munchausen* & the product will be *California*!"

Thomas D. Clark, author of a standard text on the westward movement and editor of the gold-rush diary of Elisha Douglass Perkins, has gathered in his introduction the scant available information about Gray and the Newark Company. Professor Clark's acknowledgments and bibliography indicate he has searched widely through manuscript and archival resources in pursuit of his subject. The introduction is burdened with a turgid sentence or two and, more important, appears to contradict Gray's journal on a major point. According to the editor, young Charles Gray only once expressed despair at the hardships of the trail and found the crossing to California to be a "reward within itself." This view is hard to reconcile with Gray's catalogue of his own physical suffering during the six-month journey: a bout with rheumatism, two weeks of intestinal blockage, sores and bleeding gums from scurvy, the prolonged swelling of half his face with fever blisters, a parched throat, a sprained ankle, bites from swarms of mosquitoes, and injured legs from wagon accidents, riding accidents, ox kicks, and hot sand. With these "rewards" in mind, Gray appears to express regret or despair in nearly a dozen journal entries. Indeed, one of the strong points of Gray's journal is its powerful evocation of the hardships encountered on an overland crossing.

Professor Clark has skillfully selected passages from a number of other overland journals for inclusion in his notes to the text. These passages provide the parallel experiences of such familiar figures as J. Goldsborough Bruff and Alonzo Delano. Clark's comments on points of geographical or historical interest along the trail are illuminating. Information in the notes on the Indian people encountered by Gray, however, is disappointing. This disappointment will be heightened for readers familiar with the story of Ishi as they follow Gray's travel along the Lassen trail through the heart of Yahi territory.

Although the present volume is not likely to rank with Dale Morgan's edition of the diary of James Pritchard nor Read and Gaines' superb Bruff journals, it is a useful and welcome addition to the literature of the overland crossing to California.

Appreciative passengers on the California Street cable car c. 1882, a distinctive adaptation to San Francisco's hilly terrain.

By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900–1940.

By Mark Reisler. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976. xi, 298 pp. Appendix, index. $14.50.)

Reviewed by Matt S. Meier, *research analyst for the city of Richmond, Virginia, and adjunct professor at Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond.*

One of the great migrations within the Western Hemisphere was the movement of Mexicans into the United States during the first three decades of this century. Impelled by poor economic conditions as well as the 1910 Revolution in Mexico and attracted to the Southwest by the heavy demand for unskilled labor, possibly 1,500,000 came as refugees, braceros, railroad workers, and toilers in industry. Then in the 1930's close to half a million were repatriated as the United States economy ground to a halt.

In *By the Sweat of their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900–1940*, Mark Reisler narrates, essentially from an American viewpoint, the complex story of Mexican labor in the United States. He covers the history of this movement from the early recruitment in the years before World War I to its rising tide in the war years and post-war twenties and to its ebb and stagnation in the depression years of the 1930's. In addition he describes how the Mexican worker filled the unskilled-labor needs in both agriculture and industry from California and Alaska in the West to Chicago and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in the East. He also documents the discrimination against Mexicans, the struggle over the issue of immigration restriction between labor unions and nativist organizations on one hand and agricultural and industrial employers on the other, and the unionization efforts among Mexican agricultural workers in the 1930's. Social, economic, and political conditions caused Mexican workers to believe that they never could become fully integrated into American life and to view the United States as a source of temporary employment until they could return to Mexico. As a result, only a limited number became American citizens.

By the Sweat of their Brow is a slight reworking of Reisler's doctoral dissertation, *Passing Through Our Egypt: Mexican Labor in the United States, 1900–1940*, completed at Cornell University in August, 1973. It is the excellent broad coverage of the topic promised in the title and is based on extensive documentation, both primary and secondary. There is, however, a noticeable lack of Mexican sources, and in spots it reads too much like a doctoral dissertation. The author has done a very workman-like job, but some phraseology is awkward, and transitions are sometimes a bit rough. The book suffers from a lack of some good, sharp editing. It includes a useful appendix of tables showing Mexican immigration to and population in the United States, together with a valuable warning on the limitations of U.S. census statistics. Unfortunately, comparable Mexican government figures on immigration are not given.

In the chapter on the Anglo perception of the Mexican worker Professor Reisler delineates the changing Anglo stereotype of the Mexican—the cruel, insolent bandit of the nineteenth century had become the docile, indolent peon of the twentieth. The latter, in the view of Anglos, was no more acceptable as a candidate for American citizenship than the former. This continuing negative stereotype of the Mexican immigrant played an important role in the restrictionist movement of the 1920's.

Cable Car Days in San Francisco.

By Edgar Myron Kahn. (Oakland: Friends of the San Francisco Public Library, 1976. 133 pp. Illustrations. Paper $4.95.)

Mount Lowe: The Railway in the Clouds.

By Charles Seims. (San Marino: Golden West Books, 1976. 234 pp. Illustrations, maps, index. $21.95.)

Reviewed by David F. Myrick, *author of* San Francisco's Telegraph Hill *and books on the history of western railroads and mining. He is currently completing the second volume of* Railroads in Arizona.

The appearance of a new book and the reprinting of another, both relating to local transportation in California, are acknowledged in this joint review. Happily, Edgar Kahn's *Cable Car Days in San Francisco*, which made its initial appearance in 1940 and then went through four printings before being revised in October, 1944, has been tastefully reprinted



in a soft-cover edition by Lawton and Alfred Kennedy. The Friends of the San Francisco Public Library are to be commended for bringing this classic segment of San Francisco back into print. Though smaller in size than the previous editions, the text is complete and Gelett Burgess' poem, "The Ballad of the Hyde Street Grip" is included. Omitted from this reprinting are the appendices and tables, a decision undoubtedly dictated by reasons of economy.

Beginning with the horse drawn street railway, Edgar Kahn traces early mass transit in San Francisco. Among the early lines was the City Railroad running along Mission Street. Its proprietor, Robert B. Woodward, operated the What Cheer House on Sacramento Street, but more important were his famous Woodward's Gardens, an amusement park conveniently served by his City Railroad at Fourteenth Street. Henry Casebolt, though manager of the Sutter Street Rail Road and carriage manufacturer, is best remembered today for his elaborately detailed house on Pierce Street.

The initial cable car line appeared on Clay Street in 1873 and brought lasting fame to Andrew S. Hallidie, the developer of the concept of the cable-propelled car. Five years later, as the progeny of railroad mogul Leland Stanford, the carefully designed California Street Cable Rail Road was opened, and cable railways sprouted along other San Francisco streets and in other cities. The damage left by the 1906 catastrophe caused a number of San Francisco cable lines to switch to electric traction.

Life in San Francisco and descriptions of the mansions on Nob Hill supplement the cable car story, and such personalities as Antoine Borel and James B. Stetson, cable car managers, are found in chapters in this book. Overlooked in this edition is a general route map which would have gracefully complemented the text. A brief epilogue outlining the changing patterns of cable car lines since 1944 would have been welcomed (George W. Hilton's *The Cable Car in America* helps to fill this void), and it is hoped that some day more

will be revealed about the projected cable car lines of Ben Brooks from whom Hallidie's company acquired its franchises.

A larger, profusely illustrated hard-cover book by Charles Seims is titled *Mount Lowe: The Railway in the Clouds*. For those who remember the big red cars of the Pacific Electric Railway poking into every suburb of Los Angeles, the combination street car and incline railway to a resort on Mount Lowe may seem incongruous, yet this line annually served thousands of hill climbers during its life span of four decades.

"Prof." Thaddeus Lowe, like Hallidie, was a man of many accomplishments. His interest in observation balloons found recognition during the Civil War. After amassing a fortune from the manufacture and distribution of gas for domestic use, he left Pennsylvania for Los Angeles in 1887 where he was soon engaged in gas distribution, banking, and running an opera house. In 1890 he built a mansion in Pasadena.

Mr. Seims sets the stage for Prof. Lowe's arrival by describing the metamorphosis of ranches to the winter resort of Pasadena sheltered by the San Gabriel Mountains. Reaching into these mountains was Lowe's goal, and though his railroad was not quite six miles long, it carried its patrons up 3,130 feet to reach the Alpine Tavern. Built in three sections, the railroad began in Altadena and ran to the base of Rubio Mountain. From here the short but steep (62%) incline railway continued to Echo Mountain. The third part of the railroad, a spectacular street car line winding around the mountains to Alpine Tavern, was opened in 1895. Financially, the railroad became unwieldy, and Lowe's personal fortune suffered severely when the bondholders took over the property. The Mount Lowe line came into the hands of Henry E. Huntington who passed it on to the Pacific Electric Railway to operate for over twenty-five years. When fire consumed the Alpine Tavern in September, 1936, the end of the line was near, for the appeal of "The Greatest Mountain Trolley Trip in the World" diminished as people went other places in their automobiles. And so in 1937 the line was abandoned and the tracks removed.

The story is well told, and Seims made use of the extensive material available, some of it in the words of Prof. Lowe himself. Photographically the subject is well covered, and there are many maps. It would have been helpful to have an explanatory map at the beginning of the text to orient the reader, but this in no way detracts from the valid contribution this book makes to both transportation and local California history.

Trolleys to the Surf: The Story of the Los Angeles Pacific Railway.

By William A. Myers and Ira L. Swett. (Glendale: Interurbans Publications, 1976. 208 pp. Illustrations. $13.75.)

Reviewed by Spencer Crump, *Professor of Communications at Orange Coast College, editorial director of Trans-Anglo Books, and author of numerous publications including* Henry Huntington and the Pacific Electric *and* Ride the Big Red Cars: How Trolleys Helped Build Southern California.

Southern California was principally farming and grazing land when Moses H. Sherman arrived in Los Angeles in 1890. Although the city's population had just passed the 50,000 mark, Sherman and his brother-in-law, Eli P. Clark, set out to prepare for its growth by assembling a network of electric street-railway lines through the framework of their Los Angeles Consolidated Electric Railway Co. (LACE). In 1894 they incorporated the Pasadena and Los Angeles Railway Co., which built a narrow-gauge electric line from Pasadena down the Arroyo Seco to LACE's Sycamore Grove line. Southern California's first interurban line was born. They then formed the Pasadena and Pacific Railroad Co. to build an electric line to the then sleepy beach town of Santa Monica which opened in 1895.

The company was reorganized in 1898 as the Los Angeles Pacific Railroad Co. (LAP), which provides the sub-title for this nostalgic book. The volume is based on the 1955 Interurbans Special 18, *Los Angeles Pacific*, a softcover book by Ira Swett, who was planning a revised version when he died in 1975. William A. Myers, historian for the Southern California Edison Co. and a traction buff, stepped forward and completed the project. This book is an immense improvement over the original volume and will have much wider appeal. The typography has been improved, as has the reproduction of nostalgic photographs and maps. The text also is much deeper. Best of all, the big format volume is published in hardcover with an attractive dust-wrapper. The Los Angeles Pacific line is important to Southern California's history and economic development because it eventually became part of the Pacific Electric, whose "Big Red Cars" did so much to shape the pattern of the area's cities.

The book's illustrations range widely from the interesting faces of the first riders to reach Santa Monica and motor-

men and conductors standing proudly by trolleys which they probably believed had become a permanent part of the American landscape, to time tables which indicate that the trolleys of seventy years ago could outdistance modern autos (Los Angeles to Santa Monica in 52 minutes!) and fascinating maps that show how extensive the system was. Builders' drawings of cars help modern generations understand how trolleys were constructed.

One section describes destinations of the LAP and tells about the Balloon Route, the famous sightseeing trip that acquired its name from the oval-shaped route that took riders to and from Santa Monica Bay over different trackage. This "trip to yesterday" is also enhanced by reproductions of tables showing mileages and running times between points that ring memory bells and a manual for operating the railroad.

Trolleys to the Surf has many pluses and few minuses. It lacks a bibliography which could lead to related reading or an index which would enhance its use. Handsomely designed and printed, the book will please both trolley buffs and aficionados of California history.

The Rock Paintings of the Chumash: A Study of the California Indian Culture.

By Campbell Grant. Foreword by Robert F. Heizer. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 181 pp. Illustrations. Paper $8.95.)

Reviewed by Lowell J. Bean, *chairman of the Department of Anthropology, California State University, Hayward.*

In 1965 Campbell Grant's book, *The Rock Paintings of the Chumash: A Study of the California Indian Culture*, was first published. This extraordinary volume is now reissued in paperback by the University of California Press. It is a very welcome reprint, since it provides the layman, or the scholar as well, a readable and concise review of the culture and history of the Chumash Indians of California. Mr. Grant reviews the observations made by the first explorers in California, the effects of missionization on these peoples, and the contacts and their conditions in the early mission period and the early Indian period. He also provides a short essay on their physical appearance, villages and population, houses, societies, technology, languages, religion and shamanism, food gathering, and intertribal relationships. Mr. Grant's particular concern in this book is to describe the remarkable paintings done on rock which occur throughout the Chumash area. These paintings are splendidly illustrated and provide very stimulating material for the ethnologist as well as the art historian. A description and the location for the paintings is provided, as well as discussions on their subject matter, pigments, techniques, styles, age and meaning, problems of erosion, vandalism and methods of recording, that compares with rock paintings in other areas. He included discussions on San Nicolas Island, Chinigchinich, the radiocarbon method of dating, the early investigator of the Chumash, Leon de Cessac, and mission trade with Mexico. He will undoubtedly stimulate many scholars to conjecture about the significance of these paintings which we now know have a considerable geographic description, perhaps being related to the recent extraordinary discoveries of rock art in Baja California. We can now anticipate that students of Chumash culture who are analyzing the tremendous body of data left to us by John P. Harrington, which is housed at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., will discover more ethnographic interpretations of these American treasures. I heartily recommend this book to anyone interested in the artistic achievements of hunting and gathering peoples and anyone interested in receiving an excellent introduction to culture of California's southern Coast Range Chumash Indians.

Condemned to the Mines: The Life of Eugene O'Connell, 1815–1891, Pioneer Bishop of Northern California and Nevada.

By John T. Dwyer. (New York: Vantage Press, 1976. xxiii, 302 pp. Illustrations, index. $8.95.)

Reviewed by Peter Thomas Conmy, *Oakland City Historian and Librarian Emeritus, Oakland Public Library.*

The history of the Catholic church in the mining regions of Northern California and Nevada was, except for certain isolated exceptions, an unknown quantity until 1946 when

Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails, the Story of the Pioneer Priests of Northern California by Father Henry L. Walsh, S. J., was published by the University of Santa Clara Press. In this new monumental work the episcopal administration of Bishop Eugene O'Connell, who was in charge of the area from 1861 until 1884, was featured. The lives of the early Catholic prelates of California have been written—Garcia Diego y Moreno, Thaddeus Amat, and Francisco Mora by Monsignor Francis J. Weber; Archbishop Alemany by Sister Gertrude Mary, Monsignor Weber and monumentally by Father John B. McGloin, S.J. Monsignor Gaffey's thesis at the Catholic University on Archbishop Riordan was completed a decade ago and now is off the press under the title, *Citizen of No Mean City*. Monsignor Dwyer's presentation of O'Connell is, therefore, most timely in that now all of California's pioneer bishops have been treated. For the most part the bishops named above, with one exception, followed the general pattern of episcopal administration, with some variations, of course. The marked exception was O'Connell. Both his approach to management and his own peculiarly individualistic personality deviated mightily not only from those of his fellow western prelates but as well from the accepted standards of ecclesiastical administration. This sets O'Connell as a man apart and, coupled with the history involved, makes interesting reading.

Born in Ireland in 1815, Eugene O'Connell was ordained a priest in 1842 and almost immediately became a seminary professor. The year 1850 found him on the faculty of All Hollows, and at the request of Bishop Alemany he was granted a leave of absence for three years, 1851-1854, to establish a seminary in California. He conducted classes at Santa Inez, at the same time acting as pastor of the parish. In 1853 this institution was moved to San Francisco's Mission Dolores, and again he combined pastoral work and instructional duties. At the expiration of his leave he returned to All Hollows, believing that he could further the training of students for the missionary priesthood better there than in California. His good work in the Golden State was not forgotten, however. Six years later, when it was decided to detach Northern California and Nevada from the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Alemany recommended his appointment as bishop. This was accepted, and on September 26, 1860, he was named Vicar Apostolic of Marysville. In 1868 the name of the unit was changed to Diocese of Grass Valley.

Here was a bishop who was most holy, most learned, and completely dedicated. He faced a formidable challenge, the spiritual demands of a vast area and but a handful of priests. His previous post at All Hollows facilitated the recruitment of young clerics for his diocese. His personnel administration, however, was a radical departure from the church's norm. Kindly at heart, he was severe outwardly and so alienated good rapport. Whereas most bishops would manage affairs from their see cities, O'Connell did the unusual, annually spending several months in visitations. These, however, were not mere reviews or inspections. The good bishop during his sojourn would labor along with the pastor. O'Connell not only was difficult to deal with, but tended to be indecisive, referring problem after problem to Rome and in many cases receiving no reply because of the number of trivial referrals.

Monsignor Dwyer did not write this book without difficulty and diligent labor. Bishop O'Connell had two Vicar Generals, Fathers Thomas J. Dalton of Grass Valley and Patrick Manogue of Virginia City, who represented him in California and Nevada respectively. Other than this he had no curia in the accepted sense and left no archives. Numerous and voluminous were the letters which he wrote to Rome dealing with ecclesiastical problems and to All Hollows and other seminaries seeking students for the priesthood. This correspondence is the basis for much of the text. The author's conclusion is that O'Connell's greatest contribution was in successfully securing priests to carry on the ministry. However, because of the peculiar nature of his administration, one wonders if by a different approach to personnel management better results might have been achieved.

In addition to portraying the life of O'Connell, Monsignor Dwyer has supplied important biographical data about many of the priests, who, in common with their bishop, have been unknown men in history.

Condemned to the Mines is a well written book, based on authentic sources and presented in a well organized format. It opens with a treatment of the Ireland in which O'Connell grew up and closes with a final chapter which seeks to evaluate the man. To students of the history of Northern California and Nevada, it will prove most valuable. To those who interest is the Catholic history of either state, it is a must.

All the photographs are from the CHS Library.

California Checklist

Gary Kurutz, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1976–77) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

Abajian, James de T. (comp.). *Blacks in Selected Newspapers, Censuses and Other Sources: An Index to Names and Subjects.* Boston: G. K. Hall and Company, 1977. 3 volumes. $320.00. Publisher, 70 Lincoln Street, Boston 02111.

Amaral, Anthony. *Mustang: Life and Legends of Nevada's Wild Horses.* Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1977. $9.00.

Arkelian, Marjorie Dakin. *William Halm: Genre Painter, 1829–1837.* Oakland: The Oakland Museum, 1976. 81 pp. Illustrations.

Arvola, T. F. *Regulation of Logging in California, 1945–1975.* Sacramento: State of California, 1976. 107 pp. Illustrations. $1.50. Publisher, Office of Procurement, Documents Section, P.O. Box 20191, Sacramento 95820.

Barnes, May Jane. *Look East of the Mountain.* Los Angeles: National Poetry Press, 1976. 49 pp. $3.50.

Bear, Dorothy and Beth Stebbins. *Mendocino: Book Two.* Fort Bragg: Gull Press, 1977. 76 pp. Illustrations, charts.

¡Bienvenidos al Cañon de Santa Ana!: A History of the Santa Ana Canyon. [Santa Ana?]: Environmental Management Agency, 1976. 60 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, 400 Civic Center Drive West, P.O. Box 1078, Santa Ana 92702.

Blackford, Mansel G. *The Politics of Business in California, 1890–1920.* Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1977. 221 pp. $12.50. Publisher, 2070 Neil Avenue, Columbus 43210.

Bonilla Isaac Antonio and Joy Tenney Bonilla. *Documentos para la Historia de California, Relating to José Mariano Bonilla.* Santa Barbara: by the authors, 1976. 199 pp. Illustrations. Author, 635 West Ortega, Santa Barbara 93101.

Brockstoce, John R. *Steam Whaling in the Western Arctic.* New Bedford, Massachusetts, 1977. 127 pp. Illustrations. $15.00. Publisher, 18 Johnny Cake Hill, New Bedford 02740.

Calligraphy on the Spanish Borderlands. Deer Park, Texas: San Jacinto Museum of History, 1977. Illustrations. $7.50. Publisher, Box 758, Deer Park, Texas 77536.

Clark, Thomas D. *Off at Sunrise: The Overland Journal of Charles Glass Gray.* San Marino: Huntington Library, 1976. 200 pp. Illustrations. $12.00.

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AND THIS MY CLAIM MAY ASTONISH YOU!

I was born Giovanni Paoli in the town of Brescia, Italy. In my youth I went to Sevilla, Spain, where I became a printer under the great German master, Juan Cromberger. In 1539 I embarked upon a mission second in importance only to that of Christopher Columbus, who sailed but 47 years before. My mission was to bring the Art and practice of printing to America! ∽ In Mexico City I set up my presses and types in La Casa de las Campanas (the House of Bells), at the corner of Moneda and Lic. Verdad Streets. And forthwith I proceeded to print *the first American book.* This was in 1539, mind you, almost one hundred years before the first publication of Stephen Daye, whom the historians persist in calling "the first American Printer." ∽ The title of my book was, after the fashion of my day, as follows: "Abridged and Compact Christian Doctrine in the Mexican and Castilian Languages Which Contains Such Things of our Holy Catholic Faith as are More Needed for the Development of these Native Indians and for the Salvation of their Souls. With Permit and Privilege." ∽ This book is classified as Number One in the Mexican bibliography of the 16th century. Thus, you see, I was the first American printer, under my American name of Juan Pablos. And before I died in 1560 I was acclaimed "el Gutenberg de America," a fact which will astonish your historians of today, no doubt. ∽ For the privilege of now revealing this, I am in debt to those great American typographers of your day, *Mackenzie-Harris Corp., 460 Bryant Street, San Francisco 94107,* which lies in that former *Mexican* province of *Alta California.* You will discover that they also are typefounders.

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California Historical Quarterly

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COVER

Three miners of disparate backgrounds relax with drinks and trade tales of gold almost found, ladies once loved, and other manly topics. The pictorial article beginning on page 210 features sketches of real, rather than romantic, Gold Rush scenes.

The cover lithograph, "Solid Comfort," is one in a series of twelve "California Types" published in *Album Californiano* by Cuban Argonaut-artists Augusto Ferran and Jose Baturone. *CHS Library.*

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"like a thousand preachers flying"

religious newspapers on the Pacific Coast to 1865

"Our cities have broken out in newspapers," boasted California publisher Edward C. Kemble in his 1858 history of the state's young but adventurous journals.[1] Like most mid-century Californians, Kemble shared the extravagant national estimate of the newspaper's potential as an instrument of democratic progress, optimism based on faith in the infinite malleability of men and society in the virgin American landscape. Accordingly, following the invention in 1847 of the high-speed rotary press and inexpensive printing processes, Americans eagerly set out to convey the news and shape their society as never before had seemed possible.

On the Pacific Coast the results of this comfortable union of ideology and technology were undeniably impressive. Within twelve years of the appearance in 1846 of California's first papers—the *Oregon Spectator* of Butte County's Oregon City and the *Californian* of Monterey—the frontier state issued some nineteen dailies, thirty-four weeklies, one semi-monthly, and four monthlies. Nine of these papers were religious in origin, being published by the Baptists, Campbellites, Catholics, Congregationalists, Jews, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Universalists. Of the two dailies and twelve weeklies in Oregon by 1860, one was a Methodist weekly newspaper. Religious papers contributed proportionately to the total newspaper circulation of 131,249 papers in California and 14,820 in Oregon that was reported in the census of 1860.[2]

Clergy of many denominations, men who assumed an unusually active and broad role on the Pacific frontier,[3] immediately recognized the religious newspaper as a primary tool of their outreach. The religious newspaper had matured and been tested on other frontiers long be-

Dr. Norton is Professor of History at Lamar University, Beaumont, Texas. He is the author of *Religious Newspapers in the Old Northwest to 1861: A History Bibliography, and Record of Opinion* (1976), published by Ohio University Press.

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fore gold-seekers stampeded to California, and many earlier brethren had enthusiastically proclaimed its ability to mold society in the new and relatively literate country. "A well conducted religious periodical is like a thousand preachers, flying in almost as many directions," asserted an Ohio editor in 1839.[4] Scores of ministers, reported another cleric, viewed the press, not the pulpit, as "the widest channel through which thoughts could be communicated to the millions."[5]

Incoming artisans of the religious life on the Pacific Coast evidenced no less optimism over the opportunities offered by the newspaper, and many immediately launched their local versions. Sharing not only the prevailing estimate of the great influence of the press, they expected as well that a religious paper would build and maintain denomination identity and cohesion amid the weakening pressures of the frontier. The religious newspaper also appeared to be the most efficient means of compensating for the shortage of ministers to perform evangelistic and pastoral functions for rapidly growing, widely scattered constituencies. Accordingly, a Baptist editor gave his new enterprise this mandate:

> The press—that mighty engine which moves the world—must be brought to testify for the cause of Christ, and to search out the nooks and corners of our land, and in the cottage and the hamlet, as well as in the more elegant mansion, present "the way, the truth and the life."[6]

Taking the concept further, another editor advanced that inclusion of secular content in the religious newspaper would entice the reader "where there is no church. . . . It carries religion in a pleasing dress, and will be read where the Bible and tract would not be opened."[7]

Much beyond the specifically and conventionally religious functions of the newspaper, another editor maintained, was the potential for this "acknowledged instrument of power" to impart "a correct moral tone to social organizations" and contribute "to the healthy and safe advancement of the public welfare."[8] Outside the ordinary restraints of the pulpit, the religious newspaper would encourage "principles of good citizenship and successful industry."[9] Thus, when a Congregational minister proudly reviewed his first decade as an editor in San Francisco, he found that his catalogue of topics included a wide swath of public interest articles despite his original promise to avoid the "field of politics."[10]

Representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) never pretended such reticence to explore the secular world but instead had eagerly claimed politics as one of their legitimate areas of interest.[11] When one Methodist reviewed his editorial files, he proudly if understatedly observed: "The paper appears to me to have been decidedly audacious. It took the fierce bull of sin firmly by the horns."[12] His "bull of sin" had included not only the private and semi-private sins of murder, gambling, prostitution, and drinking, but the conduct of politicians and the moral implications of issues such as slavery, constitutions, money policy, law enforcement, and public schools.

Proprietors of religious newspapers favored a rather standard format and content to accomplish the twin goals of intensifying religious activities and guiding the secular life of their constituencies. They issued papers as large in size and as good in quality of materials as their resources permitted. At best this resulted in a weekly folio of imperial size with several closely printed columns per page. Organized with loose departmentalization, the first page generally reported the weightiest matters of theology, morality, science, religious and secular history, and, perhaps, literature. The second page contained the editorial section, correspondence, and articles relating to church activities at various levels. Page three included such secular matter as a brief digest of the news, accounts of federal, state, and local governmental activities, market and currency reports, shipping news, agricultural information, and marriage and death notices. Several columns of advertising appeared on pages three and four—items such as professional cards, patent medicines, mercantile establishments, publications, and educational institutions.

When one Methodist editor reviewed his files, he observed: "The paper appears to me to have been decidedly audacious. It took the fierce bull of sin by the horns."

The remainder of the paper was usually filled with miscellaneous poems, accounts of unusual, exciting, or even bizarre happenings, and perhaps some material thought to be of special interest to youth or children.

Due to geographical remoteness and a persistent lack of funds, editors were often frustrated in the quantity and quality of paper and other materials they could purchase. Time for original writing and editing was frequently consumed by office duties and mechanical chores, in addition to considerable professional religious activity, and as a result editorial reporting about issues was limited in continuity and sometimes neglected altogether. Original material was usually confined to editorials and denominational items from contributors in the field. Secular articles were normally lifted directly or adapted from other periodical sources, usually with appropriate credit.

Religious newspapers most frequently issued from principal population centers, despite the editors' emphasis on reaching a dispersed population. Of the twenty-two papers published in California sometime between the years 1848 and 1865, eighteen either commenced life in San Francisco or soon moved there, and all the rest were issued within less than one hundred miles of the city. Convenience in obtaining supplies, access to reliable mail service, and especially the availability of potential readers made this concentration inevitable. Most subscriptions came from the area in which the office was located, and carrier delivery was an important means of distribution. As a result, a fire and flood not only destroyed the plant of the Baptist *Pacific Banner* in Sacramento but also "swept from nine-tenths of our patrons the means of continuing their patronage." (This fortunate editor, however, received money from a patron in a remote mining town to help recover his loss. The man promised further to solicit more subscriptions for the *Banner* in his community.)[13]

Such clues as there are to the kind of persons who subscribed to religious papers suggest that ministers were well represented and that they undoubtedly extracted the maximum use from their copies, as they did from other church literature. Professionals and businessmen also weighted church rolls and subscription lists. As well, religious papers reached some literate devotees in remote areas whose zeal and denominational loyalty appeared unweakened by the search for gold or other earthly pursuits. It is improbable, however, that the religious newspaper actually substituted for the minister in person in distant places. Easterners subscribed out of curiosity about acquaintances and about religious and secular events on the new frontier, and eastern editors in the domination, of course, clipped freely from their western exchanges to expand their own supply of news.

The secular content of the religious papers catered to the appetites of their generally well-read and aspiring middle class patrons, most of whom were upwardly mobile, zealously nationalistic, and enthusiastic regional boosters. The papers' religious content offered little to divert attention from business, agriculture, mining, and the mechanical arts. In fact, so thoroughly were some publishers identified with their subscribers' interests that the staff of the San Francisco Catholic *Monitor* suspended publication for three months while they left to hunt gold along the Fraser River.[14]

Churchmen established at least twenty-eight broad-appeal religious papers between 1848 and 1865. Vision

and zeal greatly outdistanced reality, however, and more than one-third failed within a year. Five held their ground from six to twelve years before folding or being absorbed by stronger papers. Eight survived in some form beyond twenty years—three Methodist, one Baptist, two Jewish, one Catholic, and one Congregational. A look at these papers grouped by denomination sheds light on the reasons for their relative success—and provides incidental interesting insights into the times.

A Congregational minister, John S. Griffin, established the first religious newspaper on the Pacific Coast. The *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist* of Tualatin Plains appeared irregularly for eight issues from June 7, 1848, to May 23, 1849, being printed on a press which had served the missionary enterprise in Hawaii as early as 1821. Despite its uncertain status, the *Unionist* proposed to be a news organ as well as a magazine, available for $3 per annum in cash or $4 in wheat. Propagation of the news in Oregon at the time was seriously impeded by poor communications, however, and the *Unionist* announced the death of John Quincy Adams four months after the event, having received the report by way of Hawaii.[15]

Congregationalists also played the larger role in their successful joint enterprise with the New School Presbyterians. Called the *Pacific*, the paper was founded in San Francisco in 1851. By 1863 it came under the exclusive control of the Congregational State Association. In keeping with the view that religious papers should be issued as cheaply as possible to insure a wide circulation, the subscription price dropped from $8 to $5 in its third year. The broad assortment of tastes represented in its pages and the quality of its editorial management enabled it to achieve a whopping 4,000 subscribers by 1856, the largest of any of the religious papers. The staff reported two readers outside its denominational constituency for every one inside.[16] The *Pacific*'s first editor was John W. Douglas, who was followed by Isaac H. Brayton and J. H. Warren. Circulation of the *Pacific* grew entirely from the initiative of these clergymen and others who had migrated primarily from the Northeast. Although the paper prospered during the 1850's, it never freed itself from financial difficulties and required "loans" from the brethren and experimentation with a plural and unpaid editorial staff, along with special fund raisers during the years of the Civil War.[17]

So thoroughly were some publishers identified with their subscribers' interests that the staff of San Francisco's Catholic Monitor *suspended publication for three months while they hunted gold along the Fraser River.*

Old School Presbyterians had been the first to establish a religious periodical in California. In 1850 Albert Williams, founder and pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco, published four numbers of a monthly he called the *Watchman*. He filled the first typical eight-page issue with news of Presbyterians in California, general intelligence, comments on the weather, marriage and death notices, and articles dealing with education and benevolence. The venture ended when a fire of suspicious origins destroyed the office.[18]

Five years later, William Speer, another Old School man, a former missionary to China, and a native of Pittsburgh, published and edited the *Oriental*; or *Tung-ngai san-luk* in San Francisco for a largely Chinese constituency. Lee Kan served as the Chinese editor, and the paper appeared triweekly in Chinese and once each week partly in English. This paper ran for two years.[19]

One more Old School general-purpose monthly began in San Francisco in July, 1859, under William A. Scott, a clergyman of strong southern sympathies who had previously edited a Presbyterian paper in New Orleans. In

Under its deceptively neutral religious masthead, the Methodist California Christian Advocate *engaged in intense pro-Union politics.*


California
Christian Advocate.
"WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO UNTO YOU, DO YE ALSO UNTO THEM: FOR THIS IS THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS."
VOL. IV.—NO. 32. SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1855. WHOLE NO.

1862 his *Pacific Expositor* was forced out of business by angry citizens after Scott had prayed publicly for Confederate President Jefferson Davis and expressed in the paper his sympathy for the southern cause.[20]

The Cumberland Presbyterians broke into print on the Pacific Coast through the efforts of T. M. Johnston, who founded the *Pacific Cumberland Presbyter*, first as a monthly in Alamo and later as an ambitious weekly in Stockton.[21] Johnston's career illustrates many of the difficulties experienced by the proprietors of religious newspapers, especially in the numerically weak denominations. At one point nearly half of his 337 subscribers had not paid their subscription fees. The congregation which he pastored fell into arrears on his salary by $350, and he had to dip into his family resources to keep the press running. A loan of $450 from his colleagues (which was eventually canceled) helped him go on, but he regularly complained in his paper about lack of support. Not only was the enterprise a loss to him financially, but he doubled as his own plant foreman, compositor, pressman, and editor, as well as keeping up with his customary duties in the church.[22]

In contrast the Methodist Episcopal Church maintained a centralized, systematic, and generally successful approach to newspaper publishing in the West. Church rules required that each pastor act as agent and keep a list of current subscribers in the church records. The pastor received a modest commission on each subscription and his own subscription at a reduced cost. Methodist editors, like most denominational editors in a frontier setting, deliberately reduced the partisan tone of their papers in order to appeal as much as possible to a diverse population.[23] Although the Quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Church was charged with authorizing new denominational papers, local personnel typically preempted the General Conference in establishing weeklies which were later obligingly adopted as official. M. C. Briggs, under the patronage and supervision of a publishing committee of the California Annual Conference, founded the *California Christian Advocate* in San Francisco in 1851.[24] The General Conference voted in 1852 to take over the paper and elected as editor S. D. Simonds. Simonds had earlier assisted Briggs, and both men had come from Methodist conferences in upstate New York. Problems of indebtedness and subsidy persisted for the paper, and the General Conference was forced to authorize a continuing annual subsidy reaching $2,000 in 1856. The original subscription prices of $5 by mail and $6 by carrier were gradually reduced to $4.50 by 1863. The *Advocate*'s circulation remained more

or less constant between 1,500 and 2,000 subscribers.[25]

A paper of similar title, the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, originated in Salem in 1855 through the initiative of Oregon ministers and laymen who formed a joint stock company. This promising arrangement failed, however, because the subscribers to the company could not pay the pledged amounts. By default Thomas A. Pearne, a principal founder, became the sole proprietor until the General Conference voted to buy the paper for $3,500 in 1856, with Pearne to continue in an editorial capacity until 1864. The purchase arrangement was not completed before 1860, however, and the editor's salary continued in arrears with the financial future of the paper still uncertain. Indeed as late as 1868 the General Conference was asked to pay $4,000 to settle existing liabilities and to appropriate subsidies of $1,000 annually for the first two years and $500 annually for the last two years of the quadrennium. The four-year advertising account as reported to the 1860 General Conference had been $5,536.18 and its job printing account $2,411.71, while its subscription list had reached 1,650 names. Throughout the 1850's the editor's salary hovered at about $700 and subsequently $1,000 annually. Even on this more substantial paper the editor's services often included bookkeeping, advertising, accounts, mailing, collections, disbursing funds, proofreading, and general office tasks.[26]

When the clergy of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) launched the *Christian Observer* in San Francisco in 1851, they were much less assured of general denominational support and were therefore more vulnerable personally. Jesse Boring, a Georgian by birth and one of the first ministers of that church on the coast, assumed its editorship. Several columns in Spanish were included in this paper during its brief run.[27]

At the 1856 annual meeting, the California Conference of the Southern Methodists initiated a more permanent publication. Orceneth Fisher, a pioneer in Southern Methodist journalism in Texas, offered a resolution suggesting to Oscar P. Fitzgerald, recently from Georgia, that if he would assume the pecuniary risks of publishing a paper, Fisher and his colleagues would act as agents free of charge. Fisher, however, became the first editor of the *Pacific Methodist* in Stockton, and Fitzgerald assumed editorship only after the paper removed to San Francisco. Both men, as it turned out, endured substantial financial loss and much hard labor in trying to produce the paper which a contemporary described as "a fine paper but [it is] a wonder that it lives."[28] Suspended during the Civil War, the *Pacific Methodist* later revived to become the permanent organ of the Southern Methodists.

Early Baptist journalism in California and Oregon was accurately self-described as consisting of small, local, temporary sheets "whose editorial fathers aspired to universal recognition."[29] As a body, Baptist publishing was weak because it was scattered about in several individual enterprises. It took firm roots in 1860 when the *Evangel* moved to San Francisco with David B. Cheney, formerly from Massachusetts. The paper had first appeared under the leadership of Cheney and J. L. Shuck, a Virginian, as the *Baptist Circular* in Sacramento. The *Evangel* occupied its central position for Baptists in California and Oregon until superseded twenty years later by the *Herald of Truth* in San Francisco. Earlier newspapers attempted by Baptists included the *Pacific Banner* in 1852 in Sacramento; the *Pacific Recorder* in San Francisco, then in Sacramento, between 1854 and 1856; and the *Religious Expositor* of six months' duration in Eola, then Corvallis, Oregon.[30] C. H. Mattoon, who traveled to Oregon from New York in 1851, owned and edited the *Expositor*, and he honorably represented the Baptists in the tradition of sacrifice which attended the religious newspaper business. With the *Expositor*'s circulation estimated at somewhere between 120 and 375, Mattoon predicted that "a land office business" during his first year would result in losses no greater than $2,000. Like many religious publishers, he left the business in less than a year "with an empty pocket, and a plenty of experience, determined to let newspaper publishing alone."[31]

[Editor Mattoon] left the business in less than a year "with an empty pocket, and a plenty of experience, determined to let newspaper publishing alone."

Roman Catholics in the Bay Area in the 1850's were largely Irish in origin, and several secular papers catering to Irish tastes blossomed in response. The first Catholic paper, however, was primarily religious. Hugh Patrick Gallagher, formerly an editor-priest in Pennsylvania, founded the *Catholic Standard* in San Francisco in 1853 with the "approbation" of Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany, but it survived only one year. It was the weekly *Monitor*, established by a group of Catholic laymen in the same city in 1858, that was destined to become permanent. After several changes in management between 1858 and 1860, Thomas A. Brady bought the *Monitor* and served as its editor until 1865. In contrast to earlier experiences in the Northeast and Old Northwest, Catholics in the Far West experienced less religious harassment, and their press consequently expressed less religious belligerence than in other areas of the United States. The *Monitor* was freed, therefore, to deal more exclusively and positively with matters of special interest to Irish-Catholic immigrants who made up about one-third of the area's population. It carried news and advice relating to Irish immigration, delayed accounts of events in Ireland, literary topics and opinions, and items of local Irish-Catholic interest. The *Monitor* also often featured a column for women and the usual assortment of advertisements, especially promotions for various Catholic schools.[32] Catholic papers acquired unusual strength primarily from their rapidly expanding constituency.

Although the numerically weak Jews were able to form congregations in hardly more than a dozen communities in California by 1860, they established three newspapers in San Francisco by 1863. Two of them, the *Hebrew Observer* and the *Hebrew*, carried on into the twentieth century. The *Observer* was established in 1855 and edited by M. S. Levy and William Saalburg. Julius Eckman organized and edited a paper he called the *Gleaner* from 1857 to 1868, and the descendent *Hebrew* came out under the auspices of Philo Jacoby in 1863. The editors of the latter two papers feuded publicly over personal and business matters arising from their common service on the *Gleaner*.[33] Jewish papers reflected their German heritage by publishing sections in the German language, emphasizing Old World events important to Jews, stressing the Jewish literary and religious heritage, and stoutly defending their American nationality and loyalty to the United States, especially during the Civil War. Proprietors apparently sustained their papers despite limited constituencies through the support of related business activities such as job printing and other publishing ventures.

Several religious groups of very modest numbers published serials with limited success and varying frequency along the Pacific coast. A group of Campbellite ministers issued the monthly *Western Evangelist* in Santa Rosa between 1858 and 1863. The Protestant Episcopal clergy briefly published the *Oregon Churchman* as a monthly. A. C. Edmunds and his wife accounted for the only publishing enterprise of the Universalists in the region, beginning with the monthly *Star of the Pacific* in Marysville, California, in 1857. This paper became a semimonthly and may have continued into 1862 when the Edmundses appeared in Eugene, Oregon, as publishers and editors of the *Union Crusader*.[34]

Mrs. Edmunds was not the only woman active in newspaper work on the frontier. The wife of the printer Charles F. Putnam may have been the first woman on

The Monitor, *a "weekly journal devoted to Irish and Catholic literature," began its long run in 1858 and continues publication today.*


THE MONITOR:

A WEEKLY JOURNAL, DEVOTED TO

Irish and Catholic Literature

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

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Late European Items.

The Monitor.

VOL. XI. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SATURDAY, SEPT. 12, 1868. NO. 7.

Contents of this Number.

Page 1—Late European Items: The New York Common Council in France—Making a Home—The Late John Bertrand Cayce, Capital and Labor; Brief City Items.

Page 2—The Island Far Away (poetry); Progress of Ritualism; Catholic Intelligence; Gold Fountainblue, and its Historical Associations; Pertaining to Alaska; The Pacific Railroad.

Page 3—Mr. Spurgeon and the Bishop of Oxford; The Pitch Lake of Trinidad; Bright Hopes, Recreations, Beauty; The Hoods.

Page 4—Summary of the Week; The Church and the Constitution; John Brown as a Subject of Song; The Church and Feminine Liberalism; Francesca Carriage Sisters Barbara; Pacific Coast Summary.

Page 5—Weekly Telegraphic Summary; Industrial Condition of the State.

Page 6—Unity in the South; Warren and Costello, Who Will That Ends Well; Varieties of Milk.

Page 7—I am Going Home; Rest is not Well; Late and Literary.

Page 8—A Life of Pleasure and a Death of Shame; Friends in Court; Reminiscences of Old Bodies of the Manchester Martyrs; Insurrection in India; The Bazaar (Jerusalem); Markets.

Brief City Items.

The Mechanics' Fair will close this (Sat-

the Pacific Coast to learn the compositor's trade while working with her husband on the *Oregon American*.[35] G. Q. Canon, an ardent advocate of Mormonism, conducted a weekly which he called the *Western Standard* in San Francisco from 1855 to 1857.[36] Spiritualists very briefly carried their message into California through the monthly *Spiritualist* at Stockton in 1857 and later in four issues of a projected weekly, the *Herald of the Morning*, in San Francisco.[37]

Clergymen who managed newspaper enterprises were rarely trained or experienced in business or editorial functions. They did, however, manifest a considerable variety of ambition, talent, and interest which enabled them to render far-ranging public service beyond their editorships. J. B. Saxton of the Baptist *Pacific Recorder* raised $12,000 for the United States Sanitary Commission during the Civil War. He eventually edited a secular daily and served as the superintendent of public schools in Esmeralda. David B. Cheney of the *Evangel* served as a trustee for the University of California, but declined the presidency of that institution. Another California Baptist, Osgood C. Wheeler, edited a daily newspaper, wrote several large volumes on agriculture, and served as a chief clerk of the legislature and United States internal revenue collector. C. H. Mattoon in Oregon taught school and authored several textbooks.[38]

Methodists proved to be the most active politicians among the editors of religious papers, beginning with the first stirrings of territorial politics. An early historian of Methodists in California claimed that N. C. Briggs of the *California Christian Advocate* did more than any other man to make California a free state. However exaggerated the claim, Briggs engaged intensely in politics before, during, and after his editorial tenure, including serving as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1864. Eleazer Thomas, another editor of the *Advocate*, was shot to death while serving as a peace commissioner to the Modoc Indians.[39]

Thomas Pearne of the *Pacific Christian Advocate* attended Oregon's constitutional convention. He ran for the United States Senate as a Republican in 1860, but lost in the legislature despite winning the popular election. Pearne also became a delegate to the Republican Convention in 1864 and assumed a leading position in the Oregon delegation. Suggesting that Oregon change its vote for the vice-presidential nominee from Schuyler Colfax to Andrew Johnson, he claimed to be responsible for the convention's altered decision, and he was rewarded with appointment to the committee to carry the news of Johnson's nomination to Abraham Lincoln. Pearne later was appointed a counsel to the British West Indies. Reflecting on his anomalous position as a clergy-

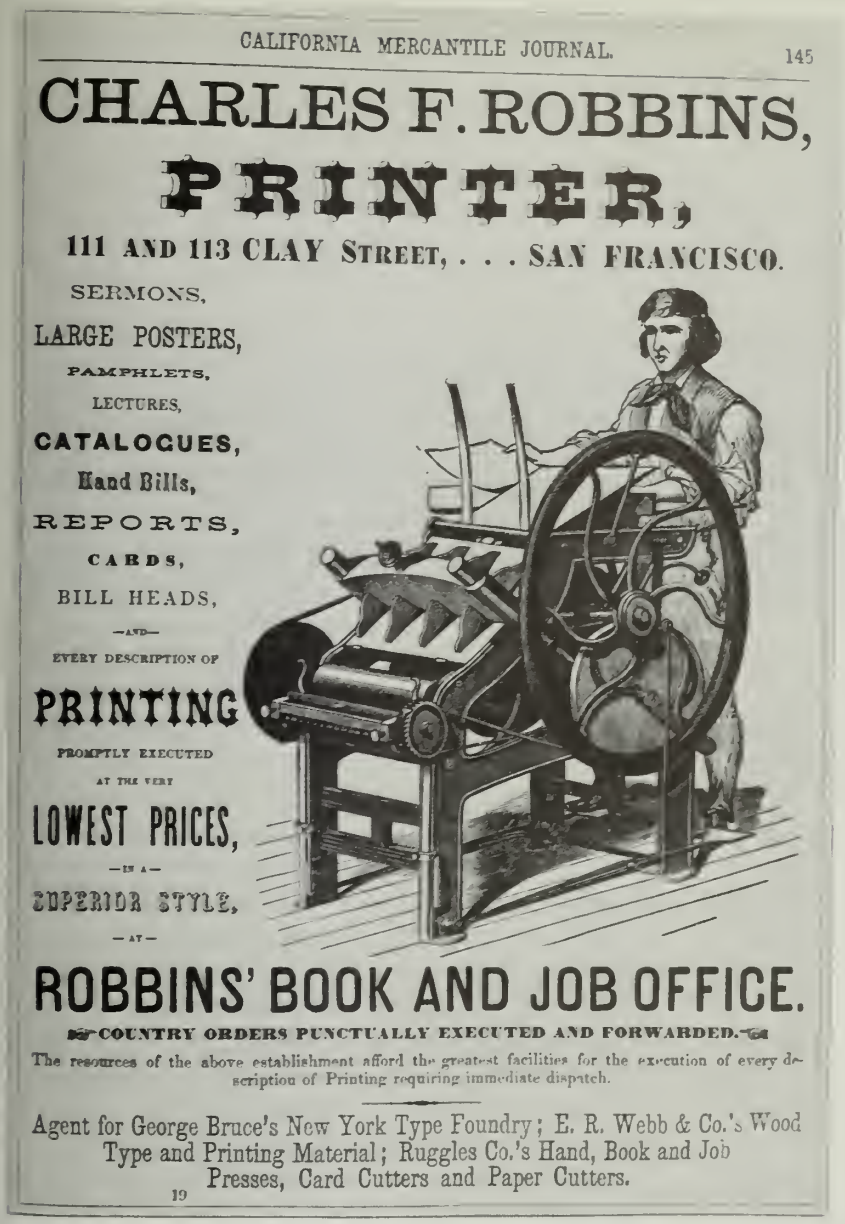
> "*Brother Fitz is dedicated to showing Southerners a Southern way to a Southern heaven.*"
>
> Mark Twain about Editor O. P. Fitzgerald

man at a political convention, Pearne remembered a typically profane Ohio delegate who wept profusely during one of the invocations. When the man's piety was challenged, Pearne recounted, the delegate explained, "I don't cry very much nor very often as a rule; but that prayer was too ——good; it just drew the juice out of me inspite of everything."[40]

Northern and southern churchmen in California lacked a Mason-Dixon line to separate them geographically, and so they often found themselves personally at loggerheads. O. P. Fitzgerald, who represented Southern Methodists in public life, frequently took opposite sides in politics from his northern editorial colleagues. He eventually became superintendent of public instruction for the State of California, and during his tenure the University of California was established. In 1872 he was offered the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate. Fitzgerald being no less partisan than Northern Methodists, Mark Twain wrote of him: "Brother Fitz is dedicated to showing Southerners a Southern way to a Southern heaven."[41]

Men of such versatility of talent and interest predictably took a broad view of the proper scope of editorial concern. Most editors aggressively promoted universal education for all ages, and Protestants uniformly supported the development of public schools. The issues of Bible reading in the public schools and public aid to parochial schools, however, led to spirited debate in the religious press. The *Hebrew* vigorously opposed both financial aid and Bible reading.[42] The Catholic *Monitor* ably represented the cause of parochial schools and a negative view of mixing of the sexes in the public schools.[43] Protestants as represented by the *Pacific* objected strongly to the allocation of public money to parochial schools which had been accomplished under the tax law in California between 1852 and 1855. They expressed confidence that in a system of open competition, their concepts would win out over Catholic notions and practices without molesting in any way religious freedom for Catholics.[44] The Protestants' later success in changing this feature of the tax law certainly stemmed in part from their newspapers.[45] Protestants also registered in the press and took very effective initiative in establishing their own colleges, including the Methodist University of the Pacific. Presbyterians and Congregationalists established the College of California and cooperated with the state in developing the University of California. With lasting impact, they strongly and successfully promoted emphasis on the arts and humanities, rather than on technology, in the early history of that institution.[46]

In the 1850's and early 1860's the lust for gold compounded the usual frontier dimensions of civil strife and violence, and religious editors enthusiastically jumped into the fray on even the most heated issues. During one episode of vigilanteeism in the mines in 1851 and 1852, the editor of the *Pacific* calmly stated his reluctant preference for direct citizen action in response "to the decisions of corruption and the supremacy of crime" and warned of the recurrence of vigilante actions if the police and the courts did not maintain order.[47] In response to the same events, Briggs of the *California Christian Advocate* recommended the use of federal troops rather than vigilantes because "summary executions do not work well in doubtful cases," for they create "more crimes than they suppress. They tend to brutalize every beholder." He concluded that vigilante acts "must not be endured."[48] A Baptist later advocated imposing restrictions upon the common practice of carrying weapons. Adding this disarmament to impartial law enforcement, he wrote, "we



CALIFORNIA MERCANTILE JOURNAL. 145

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19

Pacific Coast newspaper editors frequently manned their own presses as well as writing, editing, and soliciting advertisements for each issue.

shall not be so often called to witness the tragedy and the farce connected with murders and mock trials."[49]

In marked contrast to sentiment in the early 1850's, most religious editors emphatically supported the vigilantes in 1855 and 1856. Isaac H. Brayton, editor of the *Pacific*, claimed that the clergy was almost unanimous in support of the Vigilance Committee in San Francisco, although he found much "to sicken the heart in the popular executions. . . . Victims have been hurried in indecent haste to the hangman's tree." A few months later he endorsed the hanging of two alleged murderers, and he urged the members of the committee to go beyond retribution for murder to root out and exile owners of gambling dens and brothels, along with their conniving lawyers. Brayton expressed complete confidence in the integrity and self-restraint of the members of the committee, in their interest in "popular rights and public purity," and in the public's willingness and ability to restrain them.[50]

S. I. Simonds of the *California Christian Advocate* was himself a victim of violence of a common sort. In mid-1853 he wrote an editorial in opposition to gambling, after which two clerks from one such establishment beat Simonds at his own desk with their fists and whips. These

In 1860 the Pacific *challenged another racist premise by running a series of articles signed by a "Laborer" showing that the Chinese presence did not impair the economic position of white Americans.*

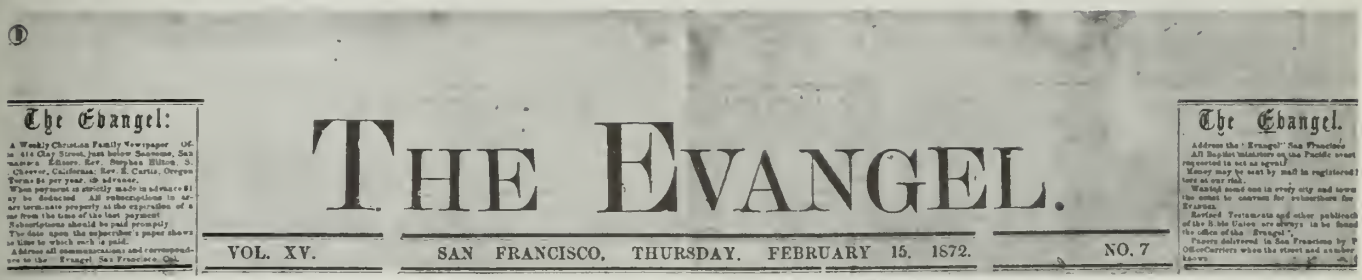
two and a third man also jostled Simonds on the street the next day. Simonds became "terribly mad," purchased a heavy cane, and walked into the police court pledging to take action himself in view of that department's neglect. He rebuked in print his own anger, however, and the next Sunday based his sermon on forgiveness. His black eye must have given special force to his message.[51]

As the new citizenry of the West Coast with its rapidly growing and diverse population encountered unfamiliar racial and ethnic minorities, religious editors appear to have offered a significant if moderate challenge to the region's growing nativism. Orientals, of course, were the most conspicuous minority by number and appearance, and William Speer, a former missionary in China, established the *Oriental* to help the Chinese adjust to the United States and to combat Yankee prejudice against them.[52] "These people ought not to be treated harshly," wrote the editor of the *Pacific*. "Because they are dressed in a costume that would not suit our tastes, they ought not to be despised. Because they speak a language that is jargon to us, let it not be inferred that they know nothing." He further urged toleration of the Chinese based on Christian morality, the West's profitable commerce with China, and the opportunity to convert the Chinese from paganism. However, he wrote, color would permanently enjoin amalgamation and voting rights.[53] In 1860 the *Pacific* challenged another major racist premise by running a series of articles signed "Laborer" which attempted to show that the Chinese presence did not impair the economic position of white Americans.

Laws involving the status of minorities as witnesses in court furnished liberal newspaper editors with another context in which to offer opinions on minority rights. Rejecting evidence on the basis of the witness' race rather than on his credibility was "very unjust, and very cruel," wrote the editor of the *Pacific*. He found it strange, too, that in Southern California, citizens were attempting to prosecute cattle rustlers without allowing the testimony of Indian witnesses who had a virtual monopoly on tending cattle. When California finally passed a law validating testimony by blacks in 1862, the *Pacific* sighed in relief. "This relic of a detestable brand of chivalry bids fair to be among the things that were."[54]

Oregon residents knew Editor Pearne as a warm supporter of civil rights for blacks. After he left the editor's chair, however, the *Pacific Christian Advocate* seemed ambivalent on the issue. An article appeared in 1865 warning against encouraging blacks to think of themselves as social or civil equals. It also proposed that for their own good they should reside in a separate nation. In direct response, the Oregon correspondent of the *Pacific* labeled this fear of social equality for blacks as humbug. "Do we fear having them educated, polite, earnest, faithful? Are we afraid to have them farmers, painters, smiths, traders? Will they outstrip us [so] that we are afraid to give them a chance?" he asked. Equality for blacks, he continued, meant to allow them "to walk our streets, attend to their own business, give them the privileges of the church, of education, and allow them to mingle with us in public gatherings for business."[55] Near the end of the Civil War, the *Pacific* furnished its readers an article on distinguished black men including Frederick Douglass, Daniel Warren, and Martin H. Freeman.[56]

A "Weekly Christian Family Newspaper," the financially strapped Evangel *pleaded on its masthead for "all Baptist ministers on the Pacific Coast to act as agents."*



The Evangel:

A Weekly Christian Family Newspaper. Office 414 Clay Street, just below Sansome, San Francisco. Editors, Rev. Stephen Bliss, S. Chesver, California; Rev. E. Curtis, Oregon. Terms $4 per year, in advance.

When payment is strictly made in advance $1 may be deducted. All subscriptions in arrears are to be paid by the expiration of 6 months from the time of the last payment.

Subscriptions should be paid promptly.

The date upon the superscribed paper shows the time to which each is paid.

Address all communications and correspondence to the "Evangel" San Francisco, Cal.

THE EVANGEL.

VOL. XV. SAN FRANCISCO, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1872. NO. 7

The Evangel.

Address the "Evangel" San Francisco.

All Baptist ministers on the Pacific coast are requested to act as agents.

Money may be sent by mail in registered letters at our risk.

Wanted, good men in every city and town on the coast to canvass for subscribers for the Evangel.

Revised Testaments and other publications of the Bible Union are always to be found at the office of the "Evangel."

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The discussion of the equality of blacks and whites had been precipitated by earlier questions regarding the political and moral ramifications of black bondage and the Civil War. On these subjects opinions differed sharply, and feelings ranged widely among those who had access to the editorial pages of religious papers. William A. Scott of the Old School Presbyterian *Pacific Expositor*, for example, advocated neutrality for the West Coast if peaceful separation was not possible. He was forced from his pastorate and his paper, much to the satisfaction of antislavery editors, when he publicly prayed for Confederate President Jefferson Davis and likened him to George Washington. Ironically, Scott received a call to pastor a church in Boston after this incident.[57] Southern-born Oscar Fitzgerald of the *Pacific Methodist*, describing himself as "frown-proof," was acutely aware of the mutual hostility between himself and his neighbors. He characterized the *Pacific* as " 'black' in its politics," although this was "nowise surprising, as Congregationalism is one of the peculiar developments of 'Down East.' " He also disapprovingly described the *California Christian Advocate* as "the shame-proof champion of abolitionism. . . . When we first started in this State, it burst forth upon us with the fury of a tornado."[58]

Throughout the Civil War, both Catholics and Jews criticized the Union and its leadership. The Catholic *Monitor* responded little to the issue of slavery, but its editor, Thomas A. Brady, attacked severely Lincoln's political and military policies. In retrospect he held Lincoln responsible for the failure of McClellan's campaign. "The real head of that campaign was Mr. Lincoln himself, and for all the blood then shed, and for much of that which has subsequently been poured out posterity will hold him responsible."[59] This kind of opposition to the president by many Catholic editors was offered as the excuse for the sacking of many Catholic newspaper offices after Lincoln's assassination.

Philo Jacoby of the *Hebrew* invited the people of the United States to a task beyond the emancipation of slaves. "If the cause of liberty and tolerances on behalf of the Negro exercises so great and perponderating an influence, how much more exigent are the claims of a people, recognized as the 'chosen' of the Almighty?" He chastised politicians who with ulterior motives had led the people into "shedding rivers of the nation's best blood." Most of his editorial comments during the war defended the loyalty and patriotism of Jewish soldiers, as well as that of Jewish merchants who were popularly blamed for the gold crisis, blockade running, and piracy.[60]

Baptist editors became only moderately involved in the controversy. Mattoon in Oregon declared the *Religious Expositor* neutral in 1856, a position not suited to many of his readers.[61] The struggling Baptist papers in California in the 1850's remained relatively aloof from the discussion, but the *Evangel* under Cheney eventually warmed up to the Union cause without underscoring it either editorially or in its presentation of news. Cheney apparently deplored the stormy content of both Northern and Southern Baptist journals that emerged with the developing secession movement.[62]



Progress in printing technology coupled with belief that the printed word could mold the minds of men produced a flowering of religious and secular journalism in the West.

In contrast, the editors of the Northern Methodist *Christian Advocate* unequivocally expounded antislavery and pro-Union views. Methodist political activity, as we have seen, gathered its force almost entirely from this antislavery sentiment. The two most active editors in the antislavery cause were Pearne of the Oregon *Advocate* and Briggs of the California *Advocate*. Both men had deep roots in the radical antislavery conferences of upstate New York, and both made their papers important vehicles for keeping the antislavery message before the public. The few extant copies of Briggs' *California Christian Advocate* and other sources evidence the intensity of his concern and his popularity as an antislavery speaker and politician.[63] Pearne claimed in his autobiography that he "took the ground that every true man and true patriot must stand by the Union, even if it came to War. . . . I made the *Advocate* ring out for the Union, and I took the stump in favor of the Union." Pearne also, of course, was very active in the Republican party.[64]

Similarly the Presbyterian-Congregational staff of the

San Francisco-based *Pacific* issued one of the most stridently antislavery papers on the entire coast. They reacted with exaggerated fear, for example, to the potential of the movement to "abolish our free constitution" in the early fifties. During the debate on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the editor warned California legislators that "they had much better remain at the East, and never return again to this side of the continent" if they succumbed to proslavery inducements and supported this measure of betrayal. In 1856 the paper endorsed John C. Frémont, and four years later it supported Abraham Lincoln when he invited voters to reject "the outrages, the misdemeanors, the corrupt partisan deeds of Mr. Buchanan's administration." From Lincoln's first inaugural until his death, no paper could have supported him more candidly or with more enthusiasm. Only Providence, it reported, could have arranged for such greatness to save the nation, and the president's murder robbed the world of its brightness and dimmed the glory of the whole land. According to the editor, Lincoln was more of a Christian than he himself knew.[65]

Religious newspaper editors did not limit their comments only to national or state issues of major significance. Protestant papers frequently promoted blue laws and disapproved of many, if not most, forms of public amusement. Papers also occasionally offered advice on various facets of the law or on the local economy. They uniformly supported capital punishment as an antidote and just reward for crime and challenged officials to further protect the people by raising standards of safety in public transportation. The *Pacific* voiced the sentiment of many when it expressed alarm over an invasion of smut from the East and the popularity of nude paintings on the walls of saloons. With all the irritability of an afflicted parent, its editors also urged that public schools slow the pace of learning and limit student assignments to those which could be completed in a normal school day.[66]

It was with the end of the Civil War that this distinct epoch in religious journalism passed. The proliferation of broad-readership newspapers and the concentration of population in urban centers undercut much of the rationale for the original form and content of the religious papers. As a result they took on a more distinctly denominational as well as religious cast, and their format changed from the large folio to the octavo. The clergy who edited the organs continued to express themselves on contemporary issues of moral significance, but the direct links with worldly affairs which their early brethren had often exploited had ended.

Bibliography of West Coast Religious Newspapers to 1865

The following chronological bibliography includes all known papers in this category. Listed are title, place of publication, beginning and terminal dates as known, frequency of publication, denomination, circulation if available, and "ULS," if the paper is mentioned in the *Union List of Serials*. When the location and description are given by library, the holdings are only those examined and confirmed by the author to be in that library. The *Union List* is noted, because it includes a few listings which the author was unable to confirm due to the geographical location of the holdings. Library symbols standing alone indicate a complete file.

Few complete files exist for papers in this period, especially for Methodist publications. Natural disasters and fires destroyed many which were once preserved. The most extensive files for Presbyterian-Congregational material are at the San Francisco Theological Seminary (CSaT) at San Anselmo, California. The Berkeley Baptist Divinity School (CBB) contains nearly complete volumes of most Baptist papers. Scattered holdings only exist in the Henry E. Huntington Library (CSmH), San Marino, and the University of California Library (CU), Berkeley. Other libraries and their symbols in the bibliography are: Hebrew Union College (OCH), Cincinnati, Ohio; the Oregon Historical Association (OrHi); the Library Association of Portland (OrP); and the University of Southern California (CLSU).

Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist (Tualatin Plains), June 7, 1849–May 23, 1849, eight issues. Monthly. Congregational. ULS.

Watchman (San Francisco), April, 1850–?, four issues. Monthly. Old School Presbyterian. CSaT, April 1, 1850.
California Christian Advocate (San Francisco), October 10, 1851–1932. Weekly. Methodist Episcopal. 1,500 in 1853. ULS, file listed for CLSU either lost or destroyed; unlisted file for CU, October 10, December 24, 1851–March 3, May 6–November 18, 1852.
Pacific (San Francisco). November 7, 1851–1920. Weekly. New School Presbyterian, Congregational. 4,000 in 1856. ULS. SSmH substantial for 1854–55, otherwise very scattered; CSaT, a few issues missing.
Christian Observer (San Francisco). January 5, 1852–1853. Weekly. Methodist Episcopal, South. First number titled *San Francisco Christian Advocate*.
Pacific Banner (Sacramento). August 19, 1852–September 15, 1853. Weekly. Baptist. CBB.
Catholic Standard (San Francisco). 1853. Weekly. Catholic.
Pacific Recorder (San Francisco and Sacramento). July, 1854–March, 1856. Semimonthly to July, 1855, then weekly. Baptist.
Oriental; or *Tung-ngai san-luk* (San Francisco). January 4, 1855–December, 1856. Triweekly in Chinese, weekly in English. Presbyterian. CSaT, microfilm; CU, January 4, 25–March 1, 1855, June, 1856.
Hebrew Observer (San Francisco). 1855–? Weekly. Jewish. Once titled *Jewish Times and Observer*.
Western Standard (San Francisco). 1855–1857. Weekly. Mormon.
Pacific Christian Advocate (Salem; to Portland). September 1, 1855–December, 1940. Weekly. Methodist Episcopal. 1,750 in 1860.
Religious Expositor (Eola, Oregon; to Corvallis with July 16 issue). May 6, 1856–October 1, 1856. Weekly. Baptist. 375. OrHi, complete except August 17 and October 4.
Voice of Israel (San Francisco). September, 1856–February, 1857. Weekly. Jewish.
Pacific Methodist (Stockton; to San Francisco in 1857). November, 1856–May 31, 1934, except suspended 1861–1865. Weekly. Methodist Episcopal, South. ULS (listed as *Pacific Methodist Advocate* with incorrect beginning year).
Gleaner (San Francisco). 1857–1868. Weekly. Jewish. May have been known as *Pacific Messenger*, 1860–1861.
Spiritualist (Stockton). February, 1857–May, 1857. Spiritualist.
Herald of the Morning (San Francisco). Four issues beginning December 20, 1857. Weekly. Spiritualist.
Star of the Pacific (Marysville; to Sacramento, 1858). May 15, 1857–December, 1860(?). Irregular. Universalist.
Western Evangelist (Santa Rosa). November, 1858–1863. Monthly. Campbellite. ULS.
Evangel (Sacramento; to San Francisco, 1860). August, 1858–1869. Began as *Circular*, became semimonthly *Evangel* in 1860. Baptist. ULS. Not in ULS, CBB, 1860–1864.
Pacific Expositor (San Francisco). July, 1859–April, 1862. Monthly. Old School Presbyterian. ULS. CSaT; CSmH; CU.
Pacific Cumberland Presbyter (Alamo; San Francisco). December, 1860–October 25, 1872. Monthly ato 1863; semimonthly; weekly by 1866. ULS under *Pacific Observer*. CSaT. December, 1860–December, 1863, complete; October, 24, 1866.
California Church Journal. Prospectus published in September, 1860, for weekly. Protestant Episcopal.
Oregon Churchman (Portland). October, 1861–September, 1863. Monthly. Protestant Episcopal. ULS. OrP.
Union Crusader (Eugene). October, 1862–1863 (?). Irregular. Universalist. Became *Herald of Reform*.
Hebrew (San Francisco). 1863–1912. Weekly. Jewish. ULS. OCH, Volumes I and II on microfilm with short gaps.

The printer's advertisement is from the *California Mercantile Journal*, 1860; and the Peerless press advertisement is from the *Pacific Printer*, September, 1878. The journals and the newspaper mastheads are all from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. Edward Cleveland Kemble, *A History of California Newspapers, 1846-1858*, edited with a foreword by Helen Harding Bretnor (Los Gatos, 1962), p. 44.
2. Kemble, *California Newspapers*, 56, 241; George S. Turnbull, *History of Oregon Newspapers* (Portland, 1939), p. 106.
3. Louis B. Wright, *Culture on the Moving Frontier* (New York, 1961), pp. 135-155.
4. Circleville, Ohio, *Religious Telescope*, November 27, 1839.
5. A. L. McKinney, *Life and Labors of I. N. Walter: Memoirs of Elder Isaac N. Walter* (Cincinnati, 1859), p. 280.
6. Clifford R. Miller, *Baptists and the Oregon Frontier* (Ashland, 1967), p. 63. From the *Religious Expositor*, May 6, 1856.
7. San Francisco *Pacific*, August 1, 1851.

8. San Francisco *Watchman*, April 1, 1850.
9. *Pacific*, August 1, 1851.
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"California is quite a different place now"



Murders at Rancheria, Amador County, in December, 1855: "A party of several Mexicans having two Americans for leaders entered a small camp called Rancheria, broke into a house, and killed in it five men and one woman."

Gary F. Kurutz

the Gold Rush letters and sketches of William Hubert Burgess

William Hubert Burgess—artist, jeweler, miner, sportsman, teacher, and inventor—set out for California in 1850 to seek his fortune in the Gold Rush. This particular Argonaut, however, a Britisher by birth, possessed a sensitive countenance unusual in a Mother Lode prospector. Accordingly, his letters and rough, on-the-spot sketches characterize life in California's mining camps in rare and unsparing detail. His eloquent letters describe the magnificent natural scenery, but report, too, on its destruction by eager and mindless settlers; they record the daily experiences and pleasures of camp living, but despair over the accompanying violence which claimed so many lives. Permeating the letters is Burgess' contagious exhilaration over his ability to survive in the harrowing natural and social environment of Gold Rush California.

Born around 1825, Hubert was one of four Burgess brothers who migrated to California during the Gold Rush era. The other three, Edward, Charles, and George, worked with Hubert at one time or another in the mines. George, who also became one of Hubert's hunting companions, achieved a measure of fame for his splendid lithographs of California scenes and for his stunning oil painting, *San Francisco in 1849*.

Hubert's eldest brother, Edward, traveled to California in 1847 as a member of Stevenson's California Regiment. After the American conquest, Edward purchased property in San Francisco and established a lucrative trading business between California and the Hawaiian Islands. Hubert, on the other hand, first landed in New York and worked as a lithographer. Shortly thereafter he urged his brother George to sail to America and become a lithographer like himself.

Mr. Kurutz is CHS Library Director.

Research for this article is based on Hubert Burgess' correspondence and sketches which are housed in the CHS Library. This unusual collection was given to the Society in 1976 by Burgess' granddaughter, Margaret Burgess McAnulty.



When the excitement of the Gold Rush reached New York, Hubert took the ship *Byron* around the Horn in 1850 to San Francisco. George and Charles quickly joined him, and the three departed for the Southern Mines. Soon, however, the Burgess brothers turned from the pick and pan and opened a small jewelry shop. Working out of a tent in Sonora, these brothers impressed their fellow miners by repairing watches and fashioning rings and chains out of local gold.

Sometime in 1850, jealous Americans levied a tax on foreign miners and proceeded to drive the Mexicans, Chilenos, and Frenchmen out of the Sonora area. Enraged Americans and Mexicans, according to Hubert, clashed, and the resulting violence effectively destroyed many small business enterprises. Fearful of being robbed of their rings and watches, the brothers decided to leave Sonora and go their own way.

Skilled with a rifle and knife, Hubert traded his horse for hunting equipment, and for a short time he made his living as a sportsman in the Southern California wilderness. Walking hundreds of miles over steep mountains and through dense forests, Hubert hunted deer, antelope, quail, and rabbit and sold the game to hungry miners for a handsome price. Just as this business was beginning to flourish, however, Hubert became ill and was forced to sell his equipment in exchange for life-giving medical care in San Francisco.

At Edward's urgings, the Burgess brothers left the harsh conditions of California in 1853 for the balmy and relaxing Hawaiian Islands. Living among graceful natives and fully recovered from his illness, Hubert returned to the jewelry business and prospered. He proudly wrote to his mother that the Hawaiian monarch, King Kamehameha, had commissioned him to create out of gold, silver, and diamonds a large ornamental bridle and ring. Meanwhile, his brother Charles worked as a paper hanger, and George painted and made lithographs of the old mission located on the islands. Reflecting back on his California experience, Burgess wrote:

I have seen a great deal of California life—considerably rough, rougher than you can imagine. Walked over a good many hundred miles too with my rifles and blankets and living on game (high feed) . . . I am now in a beautiful climate and happy and I thank God for it.

On his hunting and prospecting expeditions, Burgess frequently encountered unexpected dangers.

Two years later and apparently rejuvenated, Hubert left Hawaii with his brothers to face again the vicissitudes of California living. This time, he staked out a claim on the Mokelumne River, built a small house out of tree branches, and worked his wash pan among the mysterious "Walli Walli" Indians. He unfortunately suffered another setback, however, when fellow miners ruined his productive claim by building a dam below him and flooding out his operation.

Embittered by this lack of consideration, the exasperated miner took up the jewelry craft once again. Somewhat confused by the turn of events, he wrote home:

I can scarcely collect my ideas. I am once again established as a jeweler in Mokelumne Hill Camp, the seat of the most extraordinary diggings ever yet discovered. Could I but call my own half of the oro that passes through my hands, I would pretty soon sail for Old England. I have my sign up in Spanish, French, and English . . . and I should bring home a pile yet. . . .



Mokelumne Hill, Calaveras County, in 1856 where Burgess operated his jewelry business for miners.

Burgess saved himself from sun stroke on a long hunting expedition in Contra Costa County by improvising a sun shade with two rifles and a flannel shirt.





Working in this camp gave the free-spirited jeweler and sportsman the opportunity to roam through the wilds, hunt, fish, and enjoy the natural scenery. Seemingly satisfied, he later wrote home:

I have a good job offer in San Francisco but prefer my romantic style of living to any affixed abode—here today, tomorrow, no one knows. The scenery around this place is grand. . . .

While fishing for trout on San Pablo Creek in Contra Costa County, Burgess barely escaped from a fierce stray bull which attacked him from out of the brush.

Fond of the trees and streams that graced the Mother Lode counties, Burgess sketched the scenery on his frequent hunting trips. "California is remarkable for its autumnal colors."





Armed with rifles, pistols, and knives, Burgess supported himself by hunting antelope, elk, deer, duck, and geese.

George Burgess, hearing of his brother's comfortable situation at Mokelumne Hill, came to join him and learn the jewelry trade. Soon the two brothers made their living selling their golden products to the miners. Hubert also infused his brother with a love for the outdoors, and the two traversed the rugged Sierra Nevada in pursuit of small game. On these expeditions, Hubert and George often narrowly escaped harm from dangerous rattlesnakes, wild animals, Indians, robbers, steep cliffs, and sun stroke. Appreciating the area's beauty and sensitive to the negative impact of mining on the environment, Hubert lamented:

The country is rapidly changing here in appearance. California is remarkable for the splendors of its autumnal colors. The foliage is now to be seen in all the possible shades of green and brown. The surface of the rocks likewise changes color, the mosses alike clinging to them, altering their shades. George and I, in going down the M. River, were several times stopped by the grandeur of the scenery. The only drawback to the view is the color of the water. So much work being done up the rivers, its color is brown instead of as I have seen it, clear as crystal. The salmon still pass up but to certain death. . . .

Always respectful of the power of nature in this wilderness environment, the sportsman described at length lightning storms, devastating brush fires, and fierce winds. In one detailed note, a fearful Burgess wrote of a terrible wind storm that threatened to destroy his small wooden house near West Point in Calaveras County:

Last night, we had the most terrific gale. . . . When I went to bed there did not appear any signs of wind, but about two hours after, it commenced. My house is . . . a mere shell. The large pine close to the place was waving like a whip. While in bed I fancied myself off Cape Horn. The wind roaring through the trees, just as it does through the ropes and masts in a storm. So exactly the sound resembled it that I could almost see the huge waves foaming, boiling above me. The moon shine fell upon the window, and there I watched the shape of those tremendous trees pass backward and forward, blown about like reeds. Presently, crash went something just outside my door. . . . I lept out of bed. Looking out there was a dead limb. . . . Had it struck the house everything would have been crushed falling such a great distance. All the fellows living near got up, took their blankets and slept somewhere else, it being dangerous. The wind was never known to blow as hard before in the mountains.

Despite Hubert's respect for nature's forces, his delight in his surroundings, his peregrinating lifestyle, and his successful business, other factors began to sour his outlook. The violence and the lack of respect for human life in the mining camps appalled the sensitive artist, and in his letters Hubert repeatedly noted the lawlessness that surrounded him. During his first stay in California, he reported on the savage clash between Mexicans and Americans resulting from the imposition of the foreign miner's tax. Five years later, in 1855, he wrote his mother about the brutal murder of six settlers by a marauding band of Mexicans in the Amador County camp of Rancheria. Suffering through these waves of terror, Hubert frequently armed himself with rifles, pistols, and knives for protection. Occasionally, he joined self-appointed committees to round up and discourage these troublesome bandits and murderers.

Even flourishing and peaceful Mokelumne Hill, reported Hubert in 1855, had not escaped the violence that plagued the other mining camps. Recalling his experience in an article appearing in *Century Magazine* in 1891, the artist wrote:

In 1851 Mokelumne Hill was one of the worst camps in California. "Who was shot last week?" was the first question asked by the miners when they came in from the river or surrounding diggings on Saturday nights or Sundays to gamble or get supplies. It was very seldom the answer was "No one."

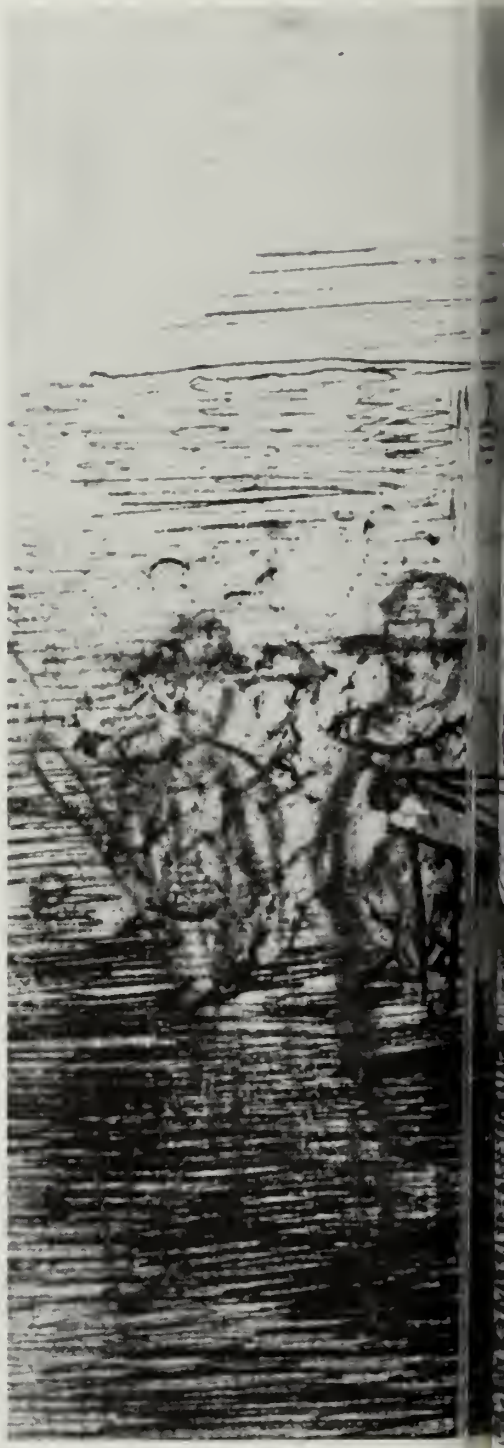
Men made desperate by drink or losses at the gambling table would race up and down the thoroughfares. . . . Selecting some particular letter in a sign they would fire in turn, regardless of everything but the accuracy of the aim. Then they would quarrel over it as though they were boys playing a game of marbles, while every shot was likely to wound or kill some unfortunate person.

Burgess, unlike many of his contemporaries, could not casually accept the wanton and careless loss of life in the mines. Obviously grieved and disturbed by the situation, Hubert related to his family a "typical" fracas in a saloon, and for further impact he sketched that grizzly affair:

I was playing billiards in a tent with a friend. There were several gambling tables. The place was crowded with representatives of all nations but principally of Spanish origin who were gambling or otherwise strolling about. A dispute commenced, pistols were drawn, and I counted eight shots fired in the tent. Balls when they did not hit one man hit another. . . . So it was this time. Three musicians were playing away raised above the rest . . . when down dropped one with a ball through his neck.

Well, some humane person picked up the wounded man to carry him to his home; {it} was necessary to pass my friend, for which purpose they touched him requesting that he move. He looked around, saw the blood gushing over the man, and in the most careless manner cried out: "Hold on, hold on a minute until I make this shot." (He was just about to strike the billiard ball).

I thought that pretty cold. They had to wait until he had finished. I have seen full twenty-five bodies since I returned from the Islands (all murdered, some shot, others stabbed, some both).



Mokelumne Hill miners, intent on the gaming tables, coolly ignored the shooting of an innocent onlooker.

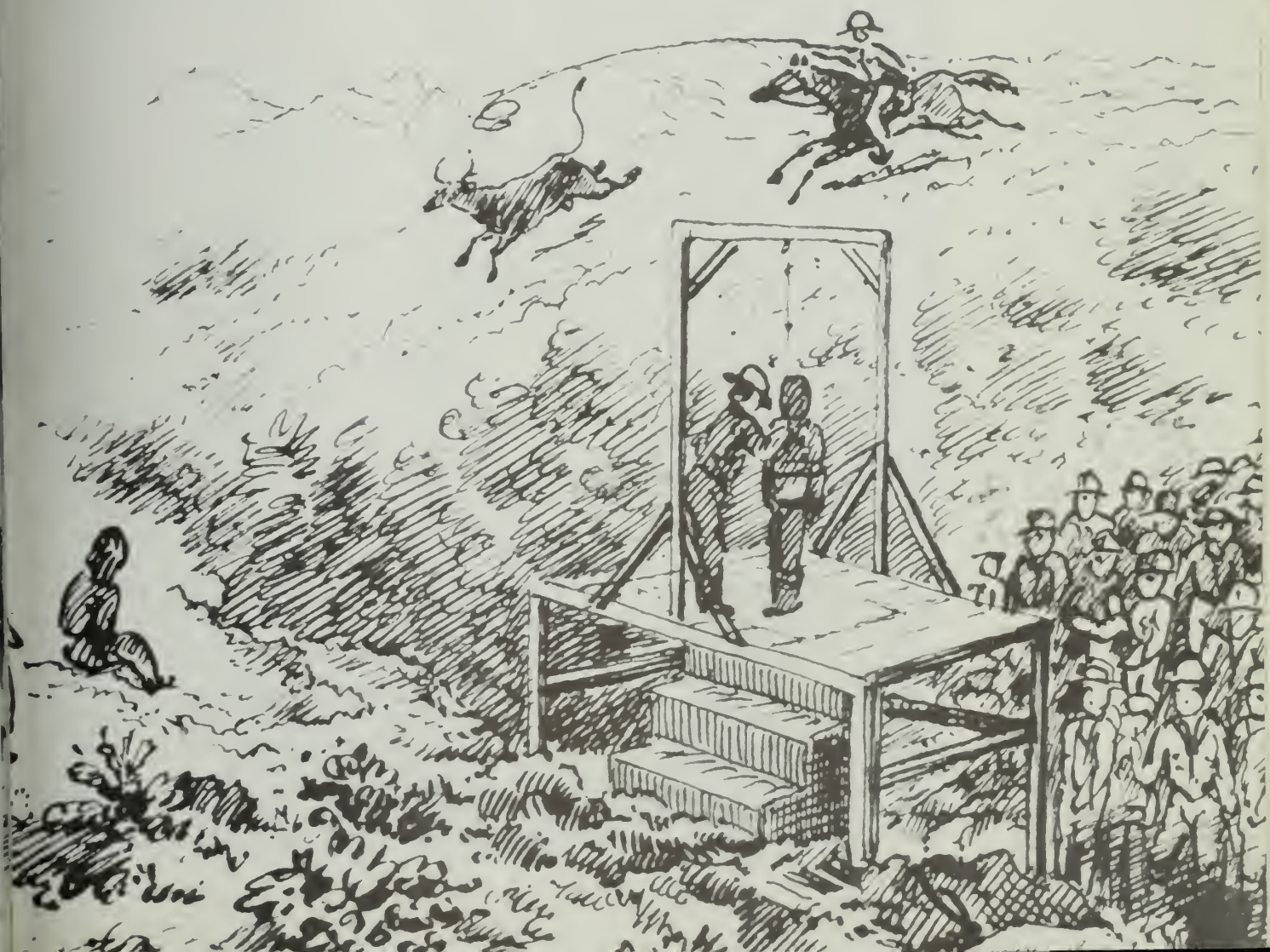




Burgess' concern with the brutality of Gold Rush society extended to its effect on the region's natural splendor. From his home in Calaveras County, he sadly noted the destruction of the big trees, the influx of insensitive settlers, and the continued social violence. Letters written in 1855 comment on the tremendous changes in California since his arrival.

A saloon in West Point, Calaveras County: "A party of roughs 'cleaned out' the leading saloon because the proprietor would not furnish them with free whiskey."

Down as I write comes one of nature's nobles with a crash like thunder making all the dogs in the place bark with fear. A large pine tree. How I hate to see these ruthless settlers pushing into the most lovely spots and clearing, as they term it. Yes, they clear all the beauty of the place off and cut and hack noble trees to make rails and fences and soon in place of the graceful deer, grovelling pigs make a feature in the landscape. It's too bad. California is quite a different place now compared with five years back. California is a thousand times worse than the penal settlements in Van Dieman's land. The uncaught villains from all countries are here.





Despite the social and natural upheavals surrounding him, this transplanted Englishman occasionally reflected on the positive good that had come to him in California. He had escaped personal injury, his brothers were safe, and he had made a comfortable living. California had given Hubert the freedom to wander, hunt, fish, and sketch the unparalleled beauty that lay before him. As a sportsman, Hubert enjoyed the physical challenge and assured his anxious family that life in the California wilderness had transformed him into a hardy individual capable of facing the most difficult situations. In 1858, he composed a final letter from the mines outlining both his accomplishments and his reasons for disenchantment with the place:

Society is of the most degraded condition here. There has been no less than seven murders. . . . You need not be alarmed on my account as they all occur among a class of people with whom I have no intercourse. . . . I wish they would make lynchlaw the law of the mines. It is as necessary to wear a pistol as a shirt.

My dear mother, in your last letter you have occasion to speak of the hardships. You wish particularly to know how poor Hubert puts up with it, why is this? {In} my glory to be a true sportsman I have put up with as much and ran purposively into ten times the difficulty and hardships than four-fifths of the people here, and when others have been snugly in camp I have been following deer tracks where I was likely to meet a bear as not. The sea has knocked me down several times but I am up again. The fever and ague has shaken my resolution. . . . Since I left home three times I have run very narrow risks of being drowned. . . . These, had I been afraid of hardship, would never have occurred, as it was each time to gratify my sporting inclinations. I do not wish to write a list of hairbreadth escapes but merely to show what falls to the lot of a sportsman, and that when I take my rifle, I perfectly well know if I do not kill something I shall go hungry. Do not therefore think me a puny milk and water fellow, but rather rejoice in the fact of my being a stout and healthy chap.

By 1870 when Burgess sat for this photograph, the former prospector possessed all the airs of a sophisticated man of the arts.

Drawing and Modelling Classes.

Burgess' Drawing and Modelling Classes are intended for pupils of the public schools. It is not generally known that the State School Law prohibits any kind of drawing, other than industrial, being taught in public schools.

There is no chance, during the school course, to acquire any knowledge of landscape, figure, animal, flower drawing, or sketching from nature, except by joining private classes,

Mr. Burgess being the teacher of drawing in the schools of Alameda, has a better opportunity of judging the ability of individuals than any other person, and consequently is better able to advise as to their artistic training.

Instruction given in all branches of artistic drawing, modelling in relief, ornamental, figure or animal.

All kinds of plaster casting in connection with modelling. Sketching from nature a specialty. Classes every Saturday Morning, (in the season), from 9 to 12. Subjects, buildings, trees, boats, landscape and water views.

Medium, pencil and India ink; those who take this course, with subsequent practice, soon acquire the art of sketching from nature.

Crayon placque drawing a specialty.

Drawing Classes. Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, from 3:15 to 4:45. Modelling Class, Wednesday, from 3:15 to 4:45.

Terms, $2.00 for eight consecutive lessons, payable on entering the class, or by agreement. Regularity of attendance expected.

Writing thoroughly taught. Call and see specimens.

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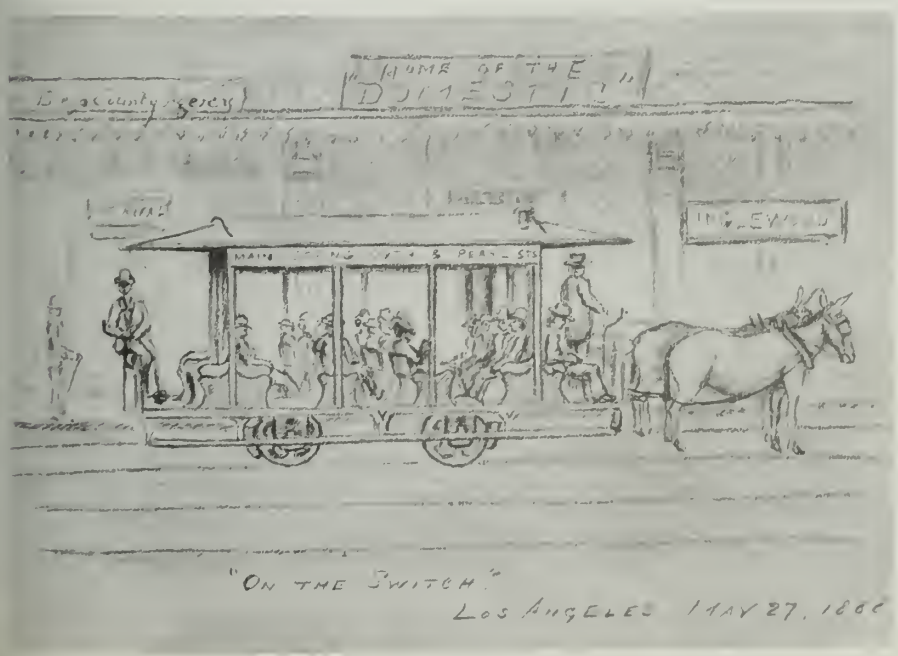
Burgess' flyer announcing his drawing classes promised that "those who take this course soon acquire the art of sketching from nature."

Finally so disturbed by the necessity of wearing a firearm and the specter of "nature's nobles" crashing to the ground, Burgess, the compassionate sportsman, left the tumult of the mines for the relative serenity of San Francisco. Arriving in the city in 1858, Burgess decided to become an art teacher. He persuaded school officials that drawing and composition should be added to classroom curriculum, and for the next twenty-four years this former miner and rugged outdoorsman taught in Bay Area schools.

As an art instructor, Hubert gave private lessons in drawing and modeling in Alameda, lectured on various artistic techniques, and wrote several volumes on penmanship and shorthand. As well, he composed stories based on his experiences in the mines, of which only one was ever published. Curiously, this versatile individual also secured four patents, one for a paper file and three for pencil sharpeners.

In 1863, the artist married one of his former pupils, Henrietta Haskel. The Burgesses had three children, and one of their sons, Hubert F., dabbled in the art world. As a surveyor in Los Angeles and later as a Congregational minister, the young Burgess relaxed by making sketches of the places he visited.

Hubert's three brothers found varying degrees of success after the Gold Rush. Edward continued as a trader, and a discouraged Charles left for London. George, on the other hand, established a studio on Montgomery Street where he created numerous portraits, landscapes, and lithographs.



A sketch made in 1888 by William's son, Hubert F. Burgess.



Hubert F. Burgess

Hubert died in 1893 at his son's home in Placer County after a remarkably diverse and full life. He left a visual and written record of California during the volatile Gold Rush era that is powerfully realistic rather than romantic. Violence, thirst, starvation, storms, drowning, snake bites, and sickness threatened this observant prospector almost daily. The romance of '49, as glorified by so many others, was never found by this eloquent and courageous artist. Yet Hubert found his "gold" in the rapture of the wilderness and in the pleasures of being a sportsman. □



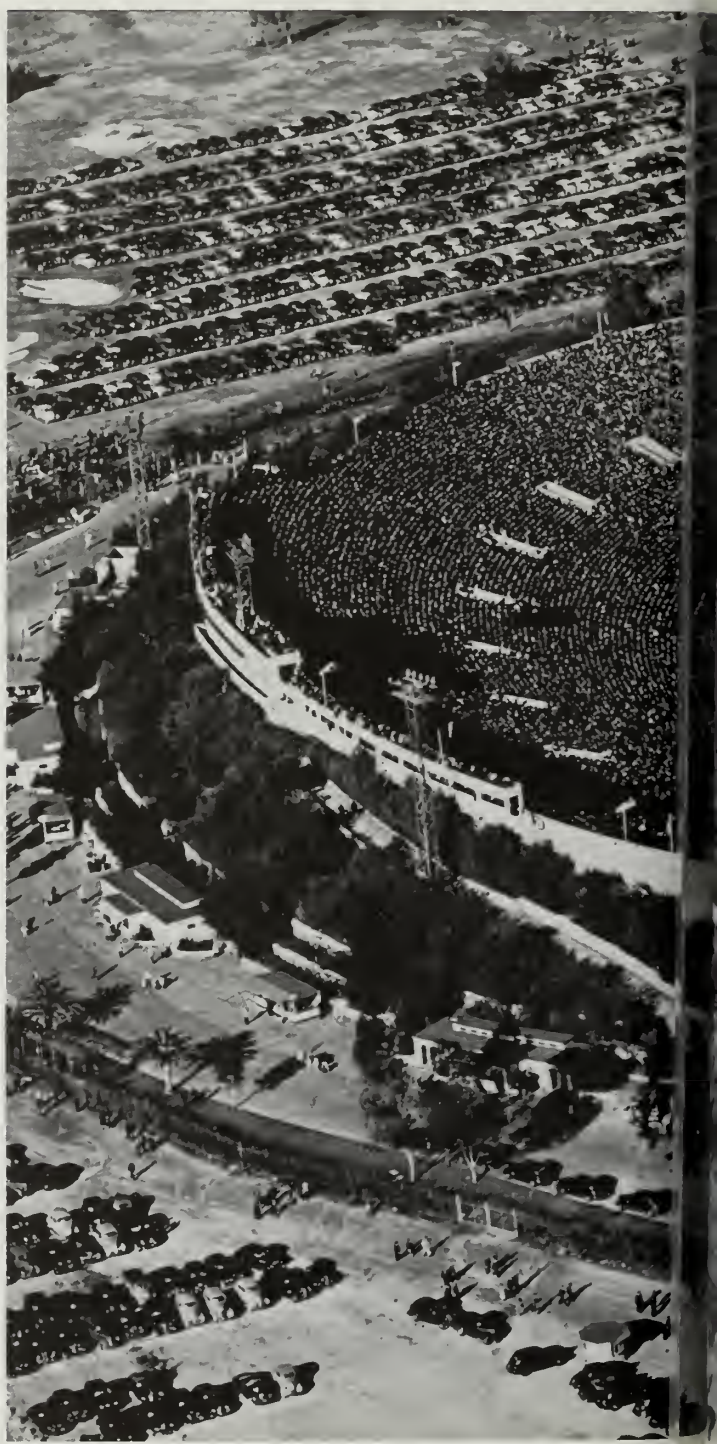


In his father's footsteps, Hubert carried on an extensive illustrated correspondence with his friends. A draughtsman, he experimented with multiple reproductions of his on-the-spot sketches of Los Angeles life by blueprinting his original drawings.

All the illustrations are from the CHS Library.

John R. Thelin

CALIFORNIA



As a nation founded on democratic principles and as a people committed to universal education, Americans have traditionally esteemed colleges and universities as measures of domestic progress and civilization. In California these highly visible social creations both nurtured and projected to the outside world the state's growing sense of pride in place. Educational centers such as the Claremont Colleges and the University of California at Berkeley and Santa Cruz provided concrete symbols of advancement beyond the frontier which combatted the "provincial" and "imitative" images routinely inflicted on the state's fledgling institutions by observers and visitors from older, more established sections of the country.

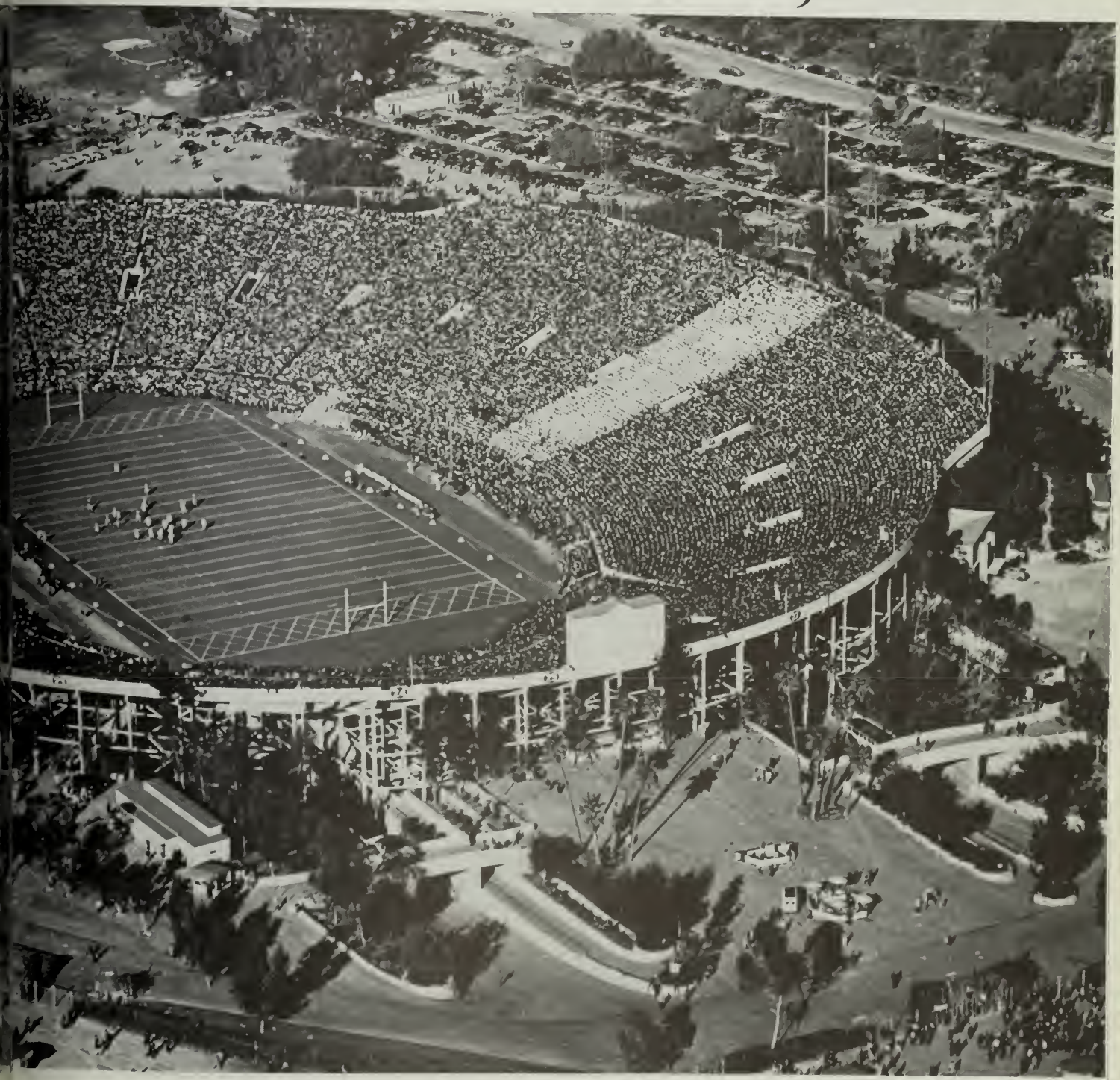
Within the state, these same colleges and universities served as a source of local color and focus for community boosterism. If by the late 1960's commentators tended to concentrate on campus disruptions and conflicts with surrounding municipalities, town and gown relations in California over the course of this century were usually amenable. Cities generally regarded campuses as municipal assets because they provided employment and educated personpower—a city's largest smokeless industry. Campuses also signified cultural refinement and status, which helped stimulate residential development. Landlords and local merchants, of course, welcomed student renters and consumers. It is not surprising, then, that a corollary to this civic pride in educational facilities has been competition between and within cities to win campus sites.

The roles played by colleges and universities in local history and intercity rivalries may be investigated through institutional roots and origins. As the preceding case study of the Claremont Colleges in the 1920's showed

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AND THE COLLEGES, Part 2



(Overleaf) At Pasadena's Rose Bowl, the granddaddy of college bowl games, teams symbolically play out longstanding sectional rivalries. Balmy game-time temperatures and shirt-sleeved spectators enhance the image of sunny Southern California.

Linking their futures with real estate developers, a number of California's colleges sold lots to raise money for their endowment funds.

how significant episodes can be forgotten or overlooked by historians, so institutions themselves sometimes disappear before the researcher's eyes.

Campus name and location provide the components for tracing institutional roots. Finding frequent references to Throop Institute, College of California, University of California at Almaden, Beverly University, Piedmont College, and St. Vincent's College, the researcher quickly learns that campuses, like banks, play on a deceptive image of permanence. Unraveling the riddles of curious names, we learn that Throop Institute became California Institute of Technology, and St. Vincent's College developed into Loyola University of Los Angeles. In another unusual course of events, mid-nineteenth century Oakland's private College of California, which itself grew out of the earlier Contra Costa Academy, was the precursor of the public University of California.

Another researcher's caveat is that first proposals for campus names were often altered or abandoned. In Los Angeles in the mid-1920's an influential citizens' group lobbied for the name "Beverly University," but eventually lost out to the "University of California at Los Angeles." Photographs of the Almaden campus of the University of California do not exist, because the school was one of the many proposed branches which Santa Clara Valley legislators thought had been approved in the 1950's, but was never built. Yet even such university "non-history" seriously affects local history. In this case premature word of the proposed campus plan leaked to the public, causing land prices around the alleged campus site first to soar and then plummet after the Regents announced a change in their building and extension plans.[55]

The UC Almaden fiasco introduces a recurrent theme in the history of colleges and campus communities: their involvement in settlement and real estate development schemes. In the 1880's residents of Claremont planned to advertise "Piedmont College" as an attraction of their community. They subsequently changed the name to "Pomona College," believing the name of the Goddess of Fruit Trees to have more appeal than the Spanish word for foothills. This name change, however, was but one part of a larger real estate development and promotion campaign for "Claremont the Beautiful," a "college town among the orange groves."[56] As in a number of other young California towns, developers tied in college building and promotion with the efforts of railroads and citrus growers, resulting, for instance, in a massive billboard campaign in Iowa which proclaimed, "Oranges for Health, California for Wealth."[57] During the 1880's the California Immigrant Union sponsored newspaper advertisements in the midwestern states to "tell the world that California was no longer a roaring gold camp but a placid, fertile farming country."[58] Pasadena, later the home of Throop Institute, gained fame by the 1870's as a haven for asthma sufferers.

Frequently linking their futures with real estate developers, a number of colleges sold lots to raise money for their endowment funds. The University of Southern California proudly proclaimed its neighborhood the "Damascus of America" and promoted the surrounding development as "University Heights."[59] During the 1880's the first Quaker settlers in Whittier attempted to attract settlers and investors from the Midwest by distributing a prospectus which mentioned its college, even though the facility had yet to be built and did not open until 1901. Occidental, founded in 1887, moved three times in the Los Angeles area before settling on its present Eagle Rock locale, and in the 1920's the college almost



Grim academics surveyed the charred ruins of Occidental College's Boyle Heights campus. The 1896 fire forced the school to move from East Los Angeles.

established a second campus in Santa Monica. Illustrating the close ties between settlement, land promotion and college construction is an early Occidental catalogue which, following presentation of rules of student conduct, announced the sale of "University Homes in Occidental Heights Track," a

> beautiful site. Best water in the country piped to every lot. Rich soil. Pure air. An educational center. No better place in the State for a home. Prices $250, $300, $500. Terms to suit. Call or write the President of Occidental University.[60]

Occidental did not alone partake in promotional ventures, and many eager college and community campaigns barely survived the depression of the 1890's. Along with land booms and busts, California's colleges and universities have a rich heritage of alleged land scandals. Most commonly, campus sites did not just "happen" but were the result of considerable wheeling and dealing on the local level. The cities of Santa Monica, Beverly Hills, and Los Angeles, for example, campaigned vigorously and passed bond issues to win the Wolfskill (Westwood) location of the new University of California campus over proposed sites in Pasadena, Orange County, and Palos Verdes which were under strong consideration by the university's Regents. In the 1950's and 1960's, final location of University of California campuses at Santa Barbara and at Irvine gave rise to public furor over conflicts of interest between Regents and land developers.[61] Nor have the newer campuses departed from the late-nineteenth century pattern of community promotion. Whittier boosters, after promoting a non-existent college in the 1880's, tried again in 1923 by offering lots for sale in the attractive College Heights subdivision.

After precarious financing, fires, and competition for students threatened to close the University of the Pacific's doors, it moved again from San Jose to Stockton at the invitation of city officials. Reflecting its subdued expectations, the school took back its old name, College of the Pacific.



Rumors of the discovery of oil led the college to halt subsequent land sales—but this action required a precarious mortgaging of the college's land and campus.[62] When the University of California, Santa Cruz, opened its gates in 1965, a "University Terrace" development, described by one observer as "a sort of Brattle Street-cum-Levittown," was not far behind.[63] (Perhaps realtors and builders who cash in on the amenities and symbols of the college town will construct at the next California campus an Ivory Tower apartment complex.)

Metropolitan development also affects institutional location, for colleges move in response to changing enrollments and population shifts. St. Mary's College, for example, has been located at one time or another in San Francisco, Oakland, and Moraga. Napa College appeared to be a promising and healthy Northern California academic institution during the 1880's, but it was later forced to merge with the University of the Pacific. The latter school may well stand as California's champion of name and location complexity. In 1851 a group

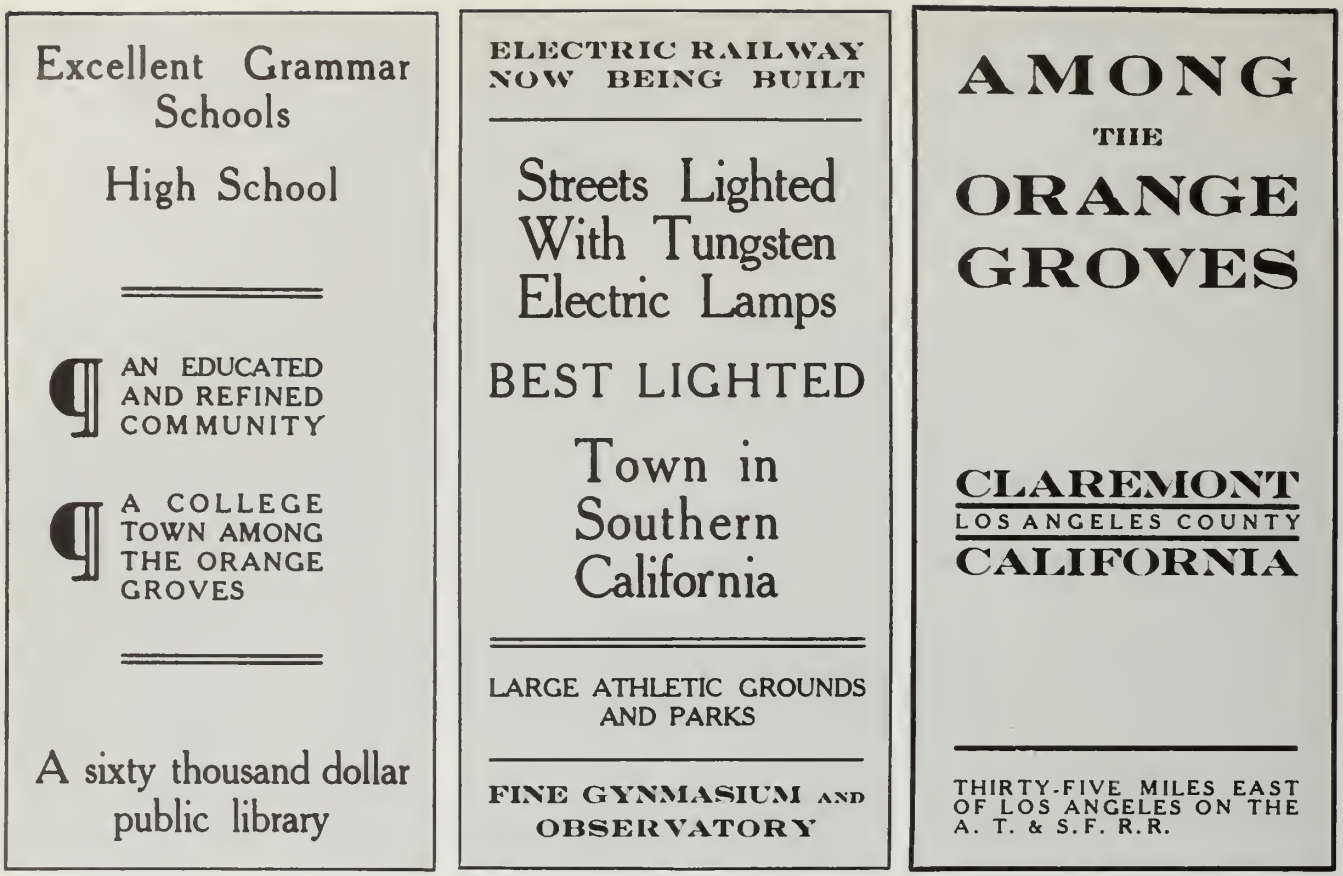
of Methodists met in San Francisco to plan the establishment of a Christian liberal arts college. The proposed San Francisco University name and site were rejected in favor of a "California Wesleyan College" in Santa Clara. Soon after, the school's name was changed to the University of the Pacific, moved to a new San Jose site, and the facility merged with the former Napa College. In the 1920's, trustees and administrators recognized that precarious finances, loss of buildings and facilities to fires, and competition for students from neighboring colleges and universities again signalled time for a change. Upon invitation from and negotiation with the city officials of Stockton, University of the Pacific moved to Stockton. There, in a rare display of modesty and downsmanship, the university label was changed to College of the Pacific.[64] By the 1960's, with the growth of graduate programs and professional schools, College of the Pacific renamed itself the University of the Pacific.

Name changes reveal institutional sensitivities to stature and reputation. Whereas the University of the Pacific and Occidental took initiative in bringing their names into line with their undergraduate character, the California state colleges and universities have long attempted to raise the status of their school designations. Campuses such as San Jose and San Diego started out as normal schools for teaching training, and they later became state colleges.[65] In the 1960's the proliferation and consolidation of the state institutions led to the designation "California State College at . . . ." When several of the campuses were granted California State University status, alumni received notification that they could have their diplomas revised with a "University" designation—for a nominal fee. Permanence of academic names, architecture, location, and status can easily be overrated.

The history of institutions of higher education also reflects aspects of the state's social history. Patterns of institutional clustering are particularly relevant, i. e., how several campuses within a metropolitan setting act and react with one another. We have already noted how the University of the Pacific chose to move to the untapped Stockton area in the 1920's rather than to compete for undergraduate students with neighboring Stanford, San Jose State Normal School, and Santa Clara University. A trans-institutional history of the Santa Clara Valley might analyze how the numerous remaining institutions cooperated, competed, or differentiated functions in order to survive. Or, a local history of the Palo Alto area could investigate the magnetic effect of Stanford University on the local economy. Over the years Stanford has generated a spin-off belt of academic and para-academic research institutes, engineering and consulting firms, hospitals, libraries, and other knowledge-industry groups that now surrounds the campus. In Berkeley several colleges, institutes, and theological seminaries cluster around the major university campus for formal and informal pooling of services and resources. Historical developments in the Los Angeles area present another important case illustrating the links between institutional identities and metropolitan growth.

The University of California, despite its slow start as the College of California, had become a solid and prominent state university by 1910. A favorite UC motto, "A tribute to the people of California," reflected the school's debt to the state's citizenry for the generosity, wisdom, and support which had enabled it to become known as a "jewel" of the state. Although its associated Hastings College of Law and medical and dental schools were sited in San Francisco and although the Regents established agricultural experiment stations in Riverside and Whittier and a university farm in Davis, the historic and celebrated university was synonymous with the attractive Berkeley campus.

Although we are accustomed today to the concept of a network or system of university campuses and branches, university regents, faculty, administrators, and alumni



earlier in the century strongly believed in the integrity of the single, central campus. To tamper with this state treasure by experimenting with a two-legged university, they reasoned, ran the risk of diffusing UC's loyalty, support, and academic excellence.

The issues of centrality and keeping the University of California intact at Berkeley also related to intrastate rivalries between Northern and Southern California or, more specifically, between the San Francisco-Berkeley Bay Area and Los Angeles. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, visitors from the East Coast allied with San Franciscans in viewing Los Angeles as a "cow town," an outpost of the rural Midwest which could not match cosmopolitan San Francisco, the "Paris of the West."

In the 1920's the ascendancy of Hollywood and the movie industry partially expanded Los Angeles' civic image to include glamorous hedonism, but this, too, was a source of derision in the Bay Area. Outraged San Francisco citizens and editors cited the Fatty Arbuckle scandal as one of the many incidents whereby debauched Hollywood visitors had sullied San Francisco's reputation. Over the decades Los Angeles was the object of so many derogatory comments that one newsman compiled an anthology, "What they said about the Angels."[66] Vintage municipal slurs from the 1920's and 1930's included the observation that it was "less a city of angels than a paradise of realtors and a refuge for the rheumatic."[67] Nationally-syndicated journalist and radio commentator Wesbrook Pegler unhesitatingly ripped the city apart, declaring:

> The U.S.A. would be better off if that big, sprawling, incoherent, shapeless, slobbering idiot in the family of American communities, the city of Los Angeles, could be declared incompetent and placed in charge of a guardian like an individual mental defective. . . . Los Angeles is a region, not a city. . . . But neither the size of the place nor the incoherence of its government accounts for the lunacy of the place.[68]

To counter these popular charges of incompetence and shiftlessness, citizens' groups and local influentials moved to build institutions and organizations which would bring stability, education, refinement, and status to Los Angeles. In the decades of the 1910's and 1920's the Hollywood Bowl, the Huntington Library, Mem-

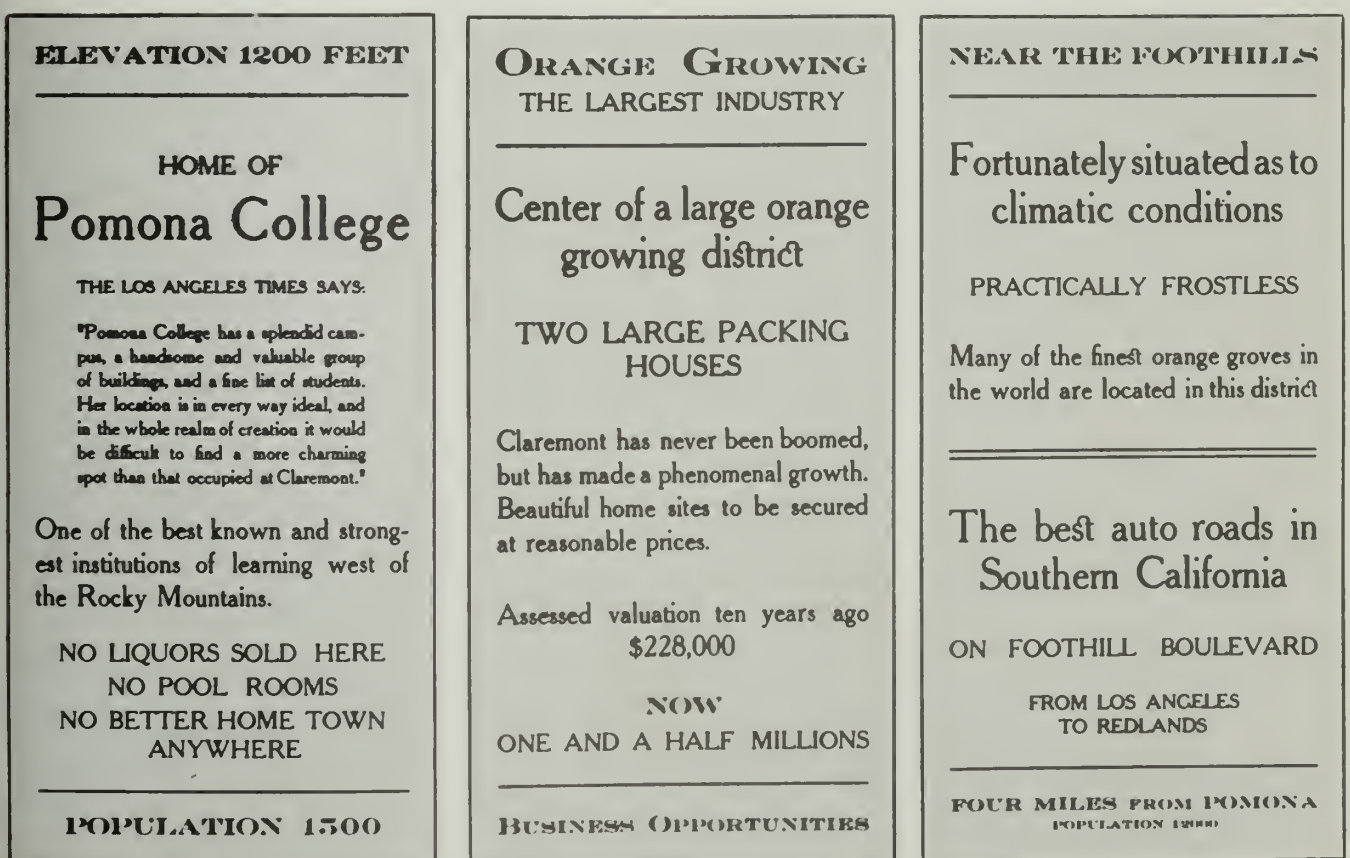
Linking its fortune with real estate developers of the College Town Among the Orange Groves, Pomona College vied for attention with Claremont's two large packing houses and a "practically frostless" climate, as seen in the pages from this early 1900's brochure.

orial Coliseum, and several colleges and universities came to provide the city with new cultural landmarks and facilities, but civic vanity and aspiration prompted a strong and persistent group of Los Angelenos to seek accommodation by the prestigious University of California itself.

The problem they faced was that the University of California's historic and symbolic roots, not to mention the people who controlled it, remained concentrated in Northern California. By 1910, however, the bulk of the state's population resided in Southern California, especially in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, and university Regents dragged their feet for years before resolving the conflict between the desire to retain the university's claim to singular loyalty and the need to serve the distant, populated southern part of the state.

While the University of California's public imagery has long boasted of statewide service and accessibility, the historical fact is that in the early 1900's the university made no attempt to serve Southern California directly. Given this void, many would-be students from Southern California traveled north to Berkeley, and in the 1920's the majority of UC Berkeley students came from the southern region of the state. Families who wanted institutions for educating their sons and daughters close to home could turn only to a number of private colleges and universities to fill the need neglected by the University of California.

Present-day distinctions between public and private educational institutions tell us little about the links be-



Accordingly, one private institution, the University of Southern California, began behaving like a state university.

tween education and local history. Most private colleges founded in Southern California during the 1890's tended to affiliate with a particular city. Whittier College was Whittier's "community college," and Pomona College was founded and supported by residents of Claremont. Realizing that the University of California did not fully serve the entire state, university officials openly relied on private colleges to meet student needs. A letter from Berkeley's President Benjamin Ide Wheeler in 1907 publicly endorsed the academic work at Pomona College and made special note that credits were transferable to the state university.[69] Behind the College of the Pacific's move from San Jose to Stockton in the 1920's was the desire of Stockton civic leaders to plant a college in their growing city. In the 1930's the privately governed College of the Pacific pioneered and hosted a junior college which later became the public Stockton City College.[70] All this is to say that extending the public-private dichotomy into the late nineteenth century can be misleading if not simplistic.

In Los Angeles, private institutions recognized that the area's population boom created a need for more collegiate and professional education. Accordingly, one private institution, the University of Southern California (USC), began behaving like a state university. Despite its Methodist affiliation, private endowment, and the midwestern origin of its faculty and administrators, USC enthusiastically tackled the responsibilities of being an urban service university. In the years before World War I, its president unhesitatingly emphasized that USC was a "city institution—the University which tries to solve the problems of the city."

More than a half-century before the University of California blossomed in a saga of statewide extension, multiple campuses, public service, and the Master Plan, the University of Southern California initiated an ambitious plan for a "University System." In addition to a core campus located in downtown Los Angeles, USC proposed to serve the entire southern region through Chaffey College of Agriculture in Ontario; theological seminaries in Escondido, San Fernando Valley, and Tulare; a fine arts college in San Diego; and other programs in Monrovia and Inglewood. While USC's university system eventually collapsed, a victim of the financial depression of the 1890's, exhumation of this forgotten episode of experimentation suggests that the later public university systems owe a debt to the earlier ideas of a private institution.[71]

USC's failure to construct an elaborate regional system did not prevent it from fulfilling its role as a city institution. USC's graduates, especially from professional schools, provided the expanding city with the majority of its lawyers, judges, doctors, teachers, civil engineers, editors, and journalists.

Neither USC nor any of the other local colleges and universities, however, wholly succeeded in becoming the one university with which Los Angeles identified. Between 1890 and 1920, USC overestimated its popularity and prospects for civic donations, and local fund drives fell far short of goals. Occidental encountered a similar fate in 1916 when the college hired a publicity agent to stage a downtown fundraising campaign promoting Occidental as the "city college" of Los Angeles.[72] Hence, while private colleges and universities became respected and appreciated pillars of the community, as suggested by the elaborate brochure published by a Los Angeles bank in 1929 to honor the campuses,[73] Los Angeles' claim to first-rank municipal status still demanded association with the state-sponsored University of California.

Finally bringing the University of California to Los

"Plug ugly" hats topped with demon personages and venerable shade trees—objects that created and symbolized campus identity—surrounded this deceptively sombe
chapter of Beta Theta Pi at UC Berkeley, c.1891

Angeles took a remarkable civic campaign. In 1919 UC Regents had declared the downtown Los Angeles Normal School to be the "Southern Branch" of the University of California. After several later proposals and considerations, including an offer to make Pasadena's Throop Institute a part of the state university, citizens of Los Angeles launched a massive drive which included bond issues, bumper stickers, radio advertisements, and parades to convince and confirm establishment of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) at the Westwood site.[74] (Ironically, the acquisition of this "real" university meant departure from the central-city Vermont Avenue campus to the relatively unsettled suburbs.)

UCLA opened in 1929 and ever after enjoyed steady growth in size and national reputation, but this action held a number of unexpected consequences. Other cities and regions in the state followed Los Angeles' example and pressed for inclusion in the University of California system. After World War II competition and demands for new campuses became so heated that one journalist described the era as one of the educational "pork barrel."[75] When UC Regents changed Los Angeles State Normal School to a branch of the university, they slighted other normal schools and state colleges, namely those in San Diego and San Jose, and in later decades the old wounds over distinctions in status and function between the University of California and the state college-



Collegiate football constitutes a national religion whose liturgy reveals much about social mobility and regional differences in American life.

university broke open again. Finally, although establishment of UCLA helped fulfill one of Los Angeles' civic aspirations, it did not result in unequivocal civic cohesion. Henceforth, USC and UCLA would compete for local support and attention, and intercollegiate sports became one symbolic arena where the tensions and rivalries of civic boosterism would be played out.

Seventy years ago Princeton University President Woodrow Wilson complained that the sideshow of football was running the collegiate circus. Little amounted from his efforts at reform, and today we inherit a situation wherein social scientists contend that collegiate football constitutes a national religion whose liturgy reveals much about social mobility and regional differences in American life. Sociologist Michael Novak has argued, however, that the symbolic importance which college football holds for the son of a Pennsylvania coal miner or the statewide support enjoyed by the University of Oklahoma team does not describe the California experience. In California, Novak claims. football has been festive and civilized, with "spirit rather than inherent toughness seeming to play a greater role in the surging scores and quick excitement" of the game.[76]

Certainly California's intercollegiate teams have been successful, and Californians were so blessed and spoiled by national championships and Olympians that there was once danger of believing this fame was the state's destiny. UCLA has been called the "Athens of Athletics," but the title describes interscholastic and intercollegiate programs throughout California.

At the turn of the century, however, the powerhouse teams in Southern California collegiate competition were high schools, and the squads from Redlands High School, Manual Arts, Los Angeles High School, and Ontario delighted in regularly thrashing the local college teams. The University of Southern California's first football game ended in a loss to an assortment of local youth who had no institutional affiliation.

In the early 1900's, Pomona and Occidental, followed by Whittier, consistently fielded the strongest teams in football, basketball, and track. The record shows that in 1919 and 1920, Whittier College defeated Southern Branch (later to become UCLA) by scores of 103 to 0 and 63 to 0.[77]

In Northern California in the early 1900's, California and Stanford both aspired to national reputations in sports, although the 1906 earthquake destroyed the Stanford gymnasium and thwarted the school's efforts for a time. Edwin Slosson, a usually knowledgeable commentator on higher education, doubted that Stanford would bother to rebuild the gymnasium; indoor sports and the grunts-and-groans of competition, he observed, held little appeal to students in California. He predicted instead that outdoor Grecian-style festivals, hiking, and recreational activities would prevent combative East Coast contests from acquiring a lasting following on the balmy Pacific Coast.[78]

Slosson's analyses were not wholly off the mark. In the decade before World War I, Stanford and UC Berkeley pioneered opposition to the brutality of and overemphasis on intercollegiate football, dropping the game entirely in favor of rugby.[79] Other California institutions joined this reform, including the University of the Pacific and USC (although the latter resumed American football after a two-year trial with rugby). The rugby program proved immensely popular with undergradu-



Occidental's 1928 Queen of the May and her court posed in a flowered field. For some years outdoor activities such as hiking and Grecian festivals symbolized California's rejection of the highly competitive collegiate athletics of the East.

ates at Berkeley and Stanford, but alumni and local fans successfully demanded the resumption of football, thereby providing historians an insight into the role of intercollegiate sports as extensions of civic and sectional rivalries.

In the period from 1910 to 1930, UCB's Golden Bears seemed charmed, and the university's "Wonder Teams" went through several undefeated seasons. The important historical fact, however, is that the Northern California teams, Stanford and Berkeley, usually defeated teams from the Los Angeles area. These athletic defeats frequently produced insults and caustic remarks about the southern region's allegedly low academic standards, however, and feelings became so hostile that the University of Southern California broke off athletic relations with Stanford and Berkeley for several years during the 1920's.[80]

USC salvaged a measure of consolation and achievement from the intrastate rift by seizing this opportunity to schedule games with prominent college teams from the East and Midwest. The single most important day in Los Angeles' sports history came in 1931 when USC defeated Notre Dame.[81] Because Notre Dame commanded the support of "subway alumni" all across America as a symbol of Catholic social and economic achievement, the team that defeated Notre Dame also gained a measure of fame. The USC football victory in 1931 culminated in a civic celebration in Los Angeles which has yet to be surpassed, and USC declared an academic holiday and cancelled classes. Speeches by the mayor and municipal officials were followed by a motorcade and parade honoring the team. Years before the Cleveland Rams and Brooklyn Dodgers moved to the West Coast, college football helped Los Angeles claim national attention as a Big League city. It is noteworthy that the USC parade and celebration of 1931 became part of a larger civic movement in Los Angeles which included hosting of the Olympic Games in 1932. Los Angeles remains the only American city ever to do so.[82]

California's college and university heroes attained legendary status across the nation in 1955 when a bubble gum manufacturer issued a series of trading cards honoring All-Time Collegiate Football All-Americans. Muller played on UC Berkeley's "Wonder Team" of the 1920's; Warburton, Rosenberg, and Pinckert brought national attention to USC; Nevers, Grayson, and Gallarneau led Stanford; and Moomaw starred on the UCLA team in the early 1950's which defeated rival USC. Copyright Topps Chewing Gum, Inc.

By the early 1930's Los Angeles' university teams had established a tradition of winning games and attracting large crowds which edged the southern region toward athletic parity with Northern California. The combined impression was such that a 1937 issue of *Life* magazine devoted to "going to college in America" made special mention of California's teams. A photograph of two record-setting pole vaulters from USC accompanied a feature article on Pacific Coast sports, which, according to the writer, had "left eastern collegians clinging to a steadily dwindling share of athletic supremacy." The article explained:

> In the past two decades, athletic reputation has largely moved West and South. A host of high school athletes, graduating into the elaborate sports arenas of the State universities, have rudely trampled the belief of an older generation that Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Cornell, and Pennsylvania symbolize greatness at football, crew, and track.[83]

A subtle point which escaped sportswriters outside of California was that national acclaim for USC or UCLA was of limited value to the schools until other milestones had been reached. Recognition within California through victories over Stanford and Berkeley, symbolic goals worthy of foremost concern, was finally attained by the two schools in the 1930's, and rivalries and occasional ill feelings within the state have continued unabated. Occasionally, spokesmen from institutions in Oregon would engage in harsh interstate commentary, and the Pacific Coast Conference scandal of the 1950's brought into the public eye many of these animosities. While the Rose Bowl provides an annual opportunity for Midwest-California confrontations, they pale in comparisons to historic intercollegiate rivalries in California.

The oldest and most conspicuous in-state rivalries include Stanford and Berkeley's "Big Game" and cross-town competition between USC and UCLA. Important as they are, these rivalries do not explain completely the California collegiate sports saga. One must also study, for example, the histories of the Catholic collegiate rivalries within California: Santa Clara, St. Mary's, and the University of San Francisco boasted a number of national championship squads and Bowl winners in the 1930's and after World War II. The proliferation of new public institutions has also complicated the picture of traditional municipal rivalries in California.

One could argue that neither USC nor UCLA "loses" in intercollegiate sports, regardless of what scoreboards show, for their public identity is furthered in these contests. In the recent past another Southern California town, Long Beach, attempted to break the USC-UCLA athletic hegemony and thereby gain a measure of civic identity. As Long Beach suffered from an "Avis Complex"—municipal anonymity as part of the Greater Los Angeles Area[84]— so California State University at Long Beach was a relatively young institution and self-conscious about its lack of visibility. Institutional distinction and civic pride, however, were gained by winning athletic teams during the late 1960's and early 1970's. Long Beach's venture, however, resulted in scandal and investigation by the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

Historical precedents argue that this kind of overreaching is nothing new in Long Beach. In 1891 the citizens of Willmore changed their city's name to "Long Beach" to attract more settlers and tourists. The slush funds for student-athletes provided by Long Beach merchants represented the same spirit of boosterism which led Long Beach officials more recently to seek municipal fame by buying the *Queen Mary* and sponsoring European-style automobile races through city streets. These contrived and inflated campaigns, often at the taxpayers' expense, have given Long Beach a remarkable record of attempts and failures.

Popular pressure for intercollegiate sports has plagued other young campuses in California. Students at Sonoma State College in 1969 voted against support of an intercollegiate football team, but this decision did not stop local merchants and citizens from raising money for



HUGH GALLARNEAU *Halfback*



ERNIE NEVERS *Fullback*



BOB CHAYSON *Fullback*



ERNY PINCKERT *Halfback*



DON MOOMAW *Center*



AARON ROSENBERG *Guard*



"BRICK" MULLER *End*



"COTTON" WARBURTON *Quarterback*

hiring a coach and fielding a team. Several branches of the University of California, including Irvine, Santa Cruz, San Diego, and Santa Barbara, have either avoided or dropped football.

In the 1890's California college teams were coached and directed by student players, and the idea of a full-time professional coach was anathema to the amateur game. In an 1894 game with Occidental held in Los Angeles, the Whittier captain called his players off the field before regulation time had run out. One version of the story has it that the Whittier captain was protesting a disputed call; the other claims that the Whittier players simply had to bicycle home before nightfall.[85] No wonder that it is difficult to integrate the rapid emergence of intercollegiate sports and huge stadiums as a prominent feature in the life and economy of California cities.

The historical record offers other equally disconcerting information. The awesome reputations of USC, UCLA, Stanford, and Berkeley, for example, have obscured the fact that California Institute of Technology has played in the Rose Bowl more than any other college team. The historical lesson here, however, is that documents and records can be misleading although technically correct. The necessary clarification is that Pasadena's Rose Bowl stadium has been the Cal Tech team's home field for several years. Similarly, while Cal Tech appeared in the nationally famous New Year's Day Rose Bowl game of 1961, formal records show that the Universities of Minnesota and Washington were scheduled to play. A few minutes before kickoff, however, nationwide television audiences and over 100,000 stadium spectators watched in amazement as the student card section spelled out "Cal Tech." Cal Tech's football prowess may not have won the Pasadena institution a place in the Rose Bowl, but its wit triumphed, as students secretly altered thousands of instruction sheets for the University of Washington's card section.[86]

Rather than being a comprehensive social history of higher education in California, this essay is only a prelude intended to add an historical dimension to our thinking about the state's institutions and their identities, and the themes explored herein are not universals. For example, while campuses and communities frequently offer each other mutual benefits, a few years ago citizens of Palos Verdes strongly resisted a proposal to build a state college campus in their community, and their protest led to location of the new campus in the Dominguez Hills area. Nor does a healthy local economy always ensure the well-being of an academic institution. During World War I when war-production contracts and industries pulled a number of California cities and towns out of an economic slump, several liberal arts colleges—notably Whittier College—almost closed because of lack of students. Today, "going to college" may have lost the appeal and public support it once enjoyed, leaving it an historical phenomenon of the late-nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, not a sociological truth. Colleges and universities—like other social institutions such as the Bellevue Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia which closed after outbreak of "Legionnaire's Disease"—can be killed by a loss of public confidence.[87]

Allan Nevins, whose long tenure as an historian included work at the Huntington Library in San Marino, perceptively described the problem of campus character faced by new institutions in America:

> This requires time, sustained attention to cultural values, and the special beauties of landscape or architecture. It is the immemorial grace of towers and lawns, the recollections of great ideas and causes, the fame of eminent leaders, that makes the name of Oxford fall like a chime of music on the ears of men in Delhi and Melbourne. It is this which for generations has made men wake at night with memories of Old Nassau at Princeton or the Colonnade at Charlottesville, their warm brick and ivy, their atmosphere redolent with scholarship and principle. . . . This spiritual grace the state universities cannot quickly acquire, but they have been gaining it.[88]

At a classic moment in the 1961 Rose Bowl game between the Universities of Washington and Minnesota, the Washington card section unknowingly spelled out "Cal Tech," the name of the field's home team.



One might add that California's institutions have been gaining this spiritual grace and sense of historical character. Unfortunately, however, the popular historic image of California has been formed largely by tourists and itinerant journalists who seem to be fascinated more by the state's excesses. Historian Kevin Starr has traced this reputation and lore into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the legends and inflated caricature of California's innovations and anomalies continue to bs hardy perennials in popular literature.[89] California has e thrilled and shocked the gamut of writers who have passed on a vicarious glimpse to nationwide audiences, and the temptation is to conclude that the state's main contribution to American life is to harbor fads and extend consumer culture.

Asked to list the institutions which have characterized twentieth-century California, many would cite the supermarket, cafeteria, motel, and ubiquitous restaurants shaped like milk bottles, hot dogs, and derbies. (McDonalds' first franchise is located near San Bernardino.) It is usually the truly new and modern which is hailed as typically Californian.

Important as these new, often outrageous institutions are to the state's history, they are obviously not the whole

Cars and students crowded the heart of campus at the University of Southern California even in 1948. About five years later, University Avenue was closed to through traffic, and parking at the heart of the campus was sharply curtailed.

story. The American frontier, whether it be the eighteenth-century colonies or twentieth-century California, has exhibited a curious and complicated mixture of conservative transplants and bold innovations.

While considerable attention has been given to the well-publicized University of California saga, it has been necessary to review the UC story to break the hegemony it has held on popular conceptions of higher education in the state. Discussions of the University of Southern California's "Extended University Plan" of the 1890's and the federated Claremont Colleges Plan of the 1920's have suggested that the UC saga, however admirable, has not been the sole force in shaping higher education in California.

Religious groups, for example, deserve historical credit for major contributions to the state's educational philosophy and facilities. Numerous Protestant denominations sponsored and established colleges at the turn of the century, especially in Southern California, and Catholic teaching orders have a sound claim to being the state's collegiate pioneers, having founded no fewer than six colleges in California before 1900.

Even though a strong sense of historical mission can help a college or university overcome anonymity and short-run crises, a remarkable fact in California's history is the number of young campuses which have acquired a sound historical identity. UC Davis, a campus which now enjoys full university status, selective admissions, and popularity among prospective applicants, has not rejected its roots as the University of California's experimental farm. Restoration and preservation of the original "Ag" buildings have given this campus a distinctive and pleasant historical character. In contrast to Davis' reconciliation of its past and present, however, clarification of historical identity still plagues many state and public community colleges.

Older California campuses in the public or private sector enjoyed the advantage of developing at a time when the concept of higher education almost always included the idea of residency. For these schools residency supplied a convenient source of cohesion which promoted the internal ceremonies, pranks, and affiliations conducive to institutional legend. Most commuter colleges have yet to carve out their sense of saga, and as a final tribute to the varieties of documents and sources, let us consider how this historical void might be filled.

That the automobile has shaped twentieth-century life in California has become a truism of social history.[90] But has this phenomenon had consequences for higher education? Have California colleges resisted or contributed to the influence of the automobile?

Documents, legends, and incidents which deal with the emergence of the commuter college as an American institution must be carefully sifted for the special California contribution, because eastern urban universities, not California colleges, were the first commuter colleges. Gleaning through the journals, articles, and campus profiles of the early 1900's, the historian discovers that Philadelphia's University of Pennsylvania was first to exhibit the "democracy of the street car." It was accessible—academically, financially, and geographically—to ambitious children of poor immigrant families.[91] During the same period one student editor in New York City argued that the major difference between City College of New York and prestigious Columbia University was not so much academic quality but two subway stops and several hundred dollars in tuition. On the other side of the coin, a Harvard student's novel about college in the 1920's dwelled at length on a new kind of university student: the commuting "grinds" who resembled beetles as they surfaced from the subway station early in the morning and who jammed into cafeterias to study while wealthier students who could afford to live in dormitories slept late.[92]



In contrast to the "subway alumni" of City College of New York and New York University, state colleges and universities in San Jose, Long Beach, and San Diego produced "freeway alumni." While eastern urban commuter colleges depended on subways and mass public transportation systems, the California version relied on the automobile. The difference was not obvious and inevitable, for in the first decades of the twentieth century, Los Angeles had one of the most elaborate public transportation systems, Huntington's "Red Car" network. The system was curtailed, however, and by the 1920's California, especially Southern California, opted for automobiles and highways.

This transportation development fostered distinctively Californian institutions and spatial arrangements. The first motel, built in 1925, was a California contribution. Political scientist James Q. Wilson of Harvard, a native of suburban Los Angeles, has argued that whereas eastern cities provided the archetypal corner drugstore as the teenage "hang-out," California gave high school students the automobile drive-in as its contribution to Americana.[93] Innovations in higher education in California since the 1920's have extended this pattern.

First, the California "commuter" student has not labored under the stigma of poverty as in the East. Students often lived far from campus in California by choice, not necessity. This transportation revolution held profound consequences for the traditional collegiate way, in that educators were forced to rethink and modify rules concerning supervision of student life and facilities. Campus life at Stanford changed radically when cars were first permitted on the grounds. Campus planning, especially at new state institutions, had to include elaborate provisions for parking lots instead of dormitories.

Parking lot assignments came to compete with salaries and honorary degrees as indicators of the power and status which the university administration bestowed on its constituents.

UCLA, nicknamed the "University on Wheels," can claim that (lack of) parking has been an issue spanning the history of the campus. As one student editor wrote when the Westwood campus opened in 1929:

> Though you get here at dawning/ at daylight or dark,
> Be it ever so humble,/ there's no place to park.
> No corner or crevice/ no cranny or crack
> No niche for bestowing/ the travel-worn hack.
> Though you search every alley,/ each field freshly plowed,
> You are met with the notice,/ 'No parking allowed.'
> So arrive with the sunbeam/ that heralds the day
> And park out on Wilshire/ miles away.[94]

Parking lots soon came to compete with salaries and honorary degrees as indicators of the power and status which the university administration bestowed on its constituents. Ridiculous? Inconsequential? Outrage over parking lot assignments was the single issue which united the UCLA faculty amidst the numerous demonstrations and disruptions of the late 1960's.

The influence of the automobile on state planning for higher education runs deep. Clark Kerr's *Uses of the University*, for example, discussed the "service station" university.[95] Public relations-minded administrators used this analogy to sell people on the merits of an accessible educational institution where one could feasibly "tank up" on information.

Innovations in university curricula and research also indicate the historical relation between cars and California's higher educational system. In the 1920's faculty members at the University of Southern California addressed themselves to local needs and regional development by pioneering in the creation of automobile education and drivers' training courses.[96] The University of California, by act of the state legislature in 1947, established the Institute of Transportation and Traffic Engineering with branches at Berkeley (Richmond Field Station) and Los Angeles.[97] To dismiss these developments as historically unimportant is to run the risk of historical myopia and provincialism. Driving outside California, one realizes that high standards of driving performance and traffic planning are a distinctive part of California's heritage. Automobiles have even contributed directly to philanthrophy and construction in California's schools. Pepperdine College, founded in 1937, was built with the fortune made by George Pepperdine from his chain of Western Auto Supply stores.

Development of a polished saga of California's commuter colleges from legends, artifacts, and incidents requires considerable refinement. Yet these fragments suggest that the shared institutional experience might be found in sources immediately available to us. The commuter college, the heights of academic excellence, and the depths of civic chauvinism sampled in this study attest that a thorough and balanced historical sense of California's distinctive institutions ought to include a view of the recent past.

The brochure on pages 236–237 is courtesy Special Collections, Honnold Library, the Claremont Colleges; the photos on pages 233 and 241, courtesy Occidental College, Special Collections Library; the "Cal Tech" photo on page 245, reprinted from *Engineering and Science* magazine, January, 1961; the USC campus scene on page 247, courtesy USC Pictorial History Project; and the photos on pages 230–231, 234, and 239, are from the CHS Library. The trading cards on page 243 are copyright Topps Chewing Gum, Inc.

Notes

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60. Andrew F. Rolle, *Occidental College: The First Seventy-Five Years, 1887-1962* (Los Angeles: Occidental College, 1962), p. 8.
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62. Charles W. Cooper, *Whittier: Independent College in California* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969), pp. 179-183.
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69. Letter from Benjamin Ide Wheeler, April 30, 1907 (?), Claremont College Archives.
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72. Rolle, *Occidental*, 28-29.
73. *Six Collegiate Decades* (Los Angeles: First Security National Bank, 1929).
74. Stadtman, *University of California*, 213-235; Andrew W. Hamilton and John B. Jackson, *UCLA On the Move: During Fifty Years, 1919-1969* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969), pp. 1-50.
75. Stadtman, "Colleges in the Pork Barrel," *University of California*, 385-388.
76. Michael Novak, "Football: The Regional Religion," *The Joy of Sports: End Zones, Bases, Baskets, Balls, and the Consecration of the American Spirit* (New York: Basic Books, 1976).
77. Cooper, *Whittier*, 146; Hamilton and Jackson, *UCLA on the Move*, 168-186.
78. Edwin Slosson, *Great American Universities* (New York: MacMillan, 1910), pp. 137-139, 160.
79. David Starr Jordan, "Football: Battle or Sport?" *The Pacific Monthly*, March, 1908.
80. Servín and Wilson, *Southern California and Its University*, 169-172.
81. Ibid., 174.
82. The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles—1932 Official Report (Los Angeles: Xth Olympiad Committee, 1933), 815 pp.
83. "Sports Records Move West," *Life*, June 7, 1937, p. 72.
84. Ray Kennedy, "427: A Case in Point," *Sports Illustrated*, June 10, 1974, pp. 86-100. For discussion of Long Beach's civic identity crisis, see especially pp. 90-89.
85. Cooper, *Whittier*, 48.
86. "Gremlins on the Loose—Cal Tech Steals Card Act," *Los Angeles Times*, January 3, 1961.
87. In 1977 the prestigious, old Bellevue-Stratford Hotel was forced to close in the aftermath of rumors related to the "Legionnaire's Disease." Tradition and prestige, along with endorsements and visits by the governor of Pennsylvania and other state dignitaries, failed to convince the public that this Philadelphia hotel was safe and that the death of American Legion conventioneers staying at the hotel was not due to negligence or incompetence on the part of the hotel staff.
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91. Slosson, *Great American Universities*, 363.
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94. Dick Goldstone, "Frosh Fancies" column, *Daily Bruin*, November 13, 1929; see also, Albert G. Pickerell and May Dornin, *The University of California: A Pictorial History* (Berkeley: The University of California, 1968), p. 252.
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Donald A. Nuttall

LIGHT CAST UPON
the non-California years

Those familiar with California's history are well aware that the governors of the Spanish period, with one exception,* still await their biographers. Despite this historiographic deficiency, much is known about the individuals during the periods of their governorships: general California histories, Hubert Howe Bancroft's monumental volumes being the most notable, contain abundant material on the subject; Franciscan historians have admirably dealt with gubernatorial-missionary relations; and relevant articles have accumulated in professional journals over the years.

When one seeks information on the governors exclusive of their California rule, however, one finds quite a different situation. The greater portion of the men's lives is then involved, for their California governorships were but brief episodes in what were invariably long military careers. Yet past scholarship has left a legacy of relative poverty. With few exceptions, the men emerge upon the California scene from a hazy existence into which they return upon completing their terms of office, and the interested observer may catch only an occasional, and sometimes distorted, glimpse of their pre- and post-California activities through the opaqueness.

The case of Don Pedro Fages—participant in the Sacred Expedition of 1769–1770, military-commandant of Upper California from 1770–1774, and California governor from 1782–1791—is no exception. The period preceding his initial contact with the Californias in 1768, the interim between his removal as military commandant and his appointment as governor, and his final years after retirement from office have been explored very little. While Fages' role in the Colorado River campaign in-



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*Edwin A. Beilharz' *Felipe de Neve: First Governor of California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1971) constitutes the only comprehensive study of one of the men.

SHADOWS of Don Pedro Fages



Fages' party descended the Gila River to reach the Colorado River in pursuit of the rebellious Yumas in 1781.

volved California, it is included in this study because, for the most part, the principal events took place on the province's periphery. Although the material on Fages' non-California years which follows is not definitive—the late Herbert E. Bolton's admonition not to "kill the subject" has been observed—it is hoped that it will throw some light on those shadowy periods of Fages' life and bring them into sharper focus.

Pedro Fages, a native of the villa of Guizona in the principality of Catalonia, was born early in 1730.[1] Little is known of his first thirty-two years because records from that period are lacking and later ones offer scant aid; they reveal only that Fages received at least a basic education and that he remained unmarried.[2]

Fages' entire life may well have been spent in obscurity but for the worldwide upheaval of the Seven Years' War, for it was with Spain's entry into that conflict that he began the military career which ultimately transformed him into a figure of historical significance and interest. In January, 1762, Spain joined France in her struggle against England; in late June of that same year Fages joined the newly-organized Second Regiment of Light Infantry of Catalonia with the rank of sub-lieutenant.[3]

Fages' first military action, and his last against European arms, came shortly afterwards. Spain had launched a full-scale invasion of Portugal, an historic ally of England, and Fages' regiment soon joined the operation.[4] Two other future governors of California—Gaspar de Portolá and Felipe de Neve—also took part in the campaign.[5] Although initially successful, by the autumn of 1762 the Spanish armies were in full retreat before combined British and Portuguese forces.[6] Fages' introduction to combat had been less than auspicious.

With Europe once again at peace in 1763, Fages entered a period of military routine, and it appeared that an undistinguished and uneventful career lay before him. He was spared that fate, however, by the policies of José de Gálvez, an individual who would more than once influence Fages' life in a significant manner.



A Mexican village scene in Sonora Province.

As visitor-general to New Spain, Gálvez from the time of his arrival in the viceroyalty in 1765 had been formulating his well-known plans for the reorganization, expansion, and development of its northern frontier. A first and essential step in the general program was pacification of the Sonoran Indians, who were then in rebellion. Two *Juntas de Guerra* held in Mexico City in January, 1767, finalized plans for the sending of a formal military expedition to the province. Colonel Domingo Elizondo was placed in command, and the military units to participate, including 100 mountain fusiliers from Havana, were designated. If the latter were not available, the crown was requested to provide an equal number of veteran troops from another source.[7]

Because the governor at Havana, Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, was unable to spare the fusiliers,[8] the king decided to fill the need with a Catalan Volunteer Company. On May 12, 1767, the *Compañía Franca de Voluntarios de Cataluña* was organized for the purpose. Captain Agustín Callis was named its commander, and Fages, promoted to lieutenant, became second officer.[9]

The Catalan company embarked on two vessels in Cadiz and began its voyage to New Spain on May 27.[10] Unbeknown to Fages, he had seen his homeland for the last time, and before him lay a career of over twenty-five years in the New World.

The Catalans reached Veracruz by mid-August and promptly were ordered to Mexico City.[11] After a brief rest in the capital, they departed on October 15 for Tepic, where Elizondo's main force was in barracks awaiting completion at nearby San Blas of the *San Carlos*, alias *Toison de Oro*, and the *San Antonio*, alias *El Príncipe*, the two packetboats which were to transport the men to Sonora. The Catalan company reached its destination on December 15.[12]

Fages' stay in Tepic was of relatively short duration. Half of the Catalan company departed for Sonora on the *Laurentana*, a small packetboat, on January 20, 1768, and the remainder sailed on the *San Antonio* on March 18. The *Laurentana* being delayed by severe sailing difficulties en route, the two ships reached Guaymas almost simultaneously, the *Laurentana* on May 2 and the *San Antonio* three days later.[13]

Although the Sonoran campaign was responsible for Fages' coming to New Spain, his role in that undertaking was brief and modest. Elizondo devoted his first months

in Sonora to careful planning and preliminary forays against the Indian rebels, and the Catalan Volunteers were little utilized, since as infantry they lacked the mobility necessary for the type of warfare being waged. The first Spanish attack upon the Cerro Prieto, the mountainous stronghold of the enemy, was not begun until November 23.[14] Fages, meanwhile, had been detached from the expedition to participate in Gálvez' most recent project—the colonization of Upper California.

From the time of his arrival in Lower California in July, 1768, Gálvez had been planning the northern enterprise. He decided early that the vessels of the sea branch should carry soldiers to provide security when landings were made en route and in Upper California itself. On July 23 he had ordered twenty-five dragoons sent from Loreto Presidio to Guaymas with instructions to Elizondo that he replace them with infantry, which would be better suited for the purpose.[15]

Elizondo promptly had complied. On September 11, twenty-five Catalan Volunteers were released from the Sonoran expedition for duty in the Californias. Fages was placed in command of the contingent.[16]

Fages and his men embarked on the *Laurentana* and set sail for Lower California shortly afterwards. The voyage was uneventful until September 29, when a Gulf storm drove the *Laurentana* and the *Sinaloa*, which was accompanying it, aground in the peninsula's Ensenada de Agua Verde. Four days later, however, the vessels were freed without serious damage, and they reached La Paz by mid-October.[17] Fages immediately put himself and his troops at Gálvez' disposal.

Fages' career then entered a phase which lies outside the scope of this article which focuses on his non-California years. During 1769–1770, he participated in the Upper California colonizing expedition, a service which earned him promotion to the rank of captain. Upon Gaspar de Portolá's departure from Monterey in July, 1770, Fages remained as military commandant of the new establishments in accord with Gálvez' orders. Conflict with Junípero Serra, father-president of the Upper California missions, was a central theme of his administration, and upon Serra's request during his visit to Mexico City in 1773, Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa removed Fages and replaced him with Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada. Fages was to rejoin his Catalan Volunteer Company, which was then garrisoned at the Real del Monte near Pachuca. Fages relinquished his office to Rivera y Moncada on May 25, 1774, and departed from San Diego on the *San Antonio* on August 4 of that same year.[18]

Reaching San Blas in late August or early September, Fages began his trip to Mexico City. While on the road he fell ill and was compelled to spend a convalescent period in a private home in Irapuato. An incident which occurred there could be passed over were it not for a principal figure involved. A considerable sum of money was taken from Fages' private box, and local officials discovered the culprit to be Juan Antonio Coronel,[19] better known as the muleteer who successfully treated Father Serra's infected leg during Portolá's march to Upper California.[20] A favorite of Fages' in Monterey, he was then returning to rejoin his family in Sinaloa and acting as Fages' servant en route. The reaction of the choleric Fages can well be imagined, but there is no record of the punishment meted out to the wayward aide.

Fages presently resumed his journey and arrived in Mexico City by the end of the year, still in ill health.[21] He doubtless had harbored fears that the circumstances prompting his recent removal from office might prove injurious to his military career, and he could not, therefore, but have been pleased and surprised by news which he then received. Rather than returning to his old company, he was to be given his own command.

The beneficent hand of José de Gálvez was responsible for the unexpected development. While Father Serra's

> *"The viceroy removed Fages [from his position of military commandant of Upper California] . . . but nowhere in the* expediente *do I find any reason, or justification, for this action other than the complaint of Fray Junipero Serra."*

recommendations on California affairs were receiving official consideration in 1773, Julián de Arriaga, the minister of state, had kept Gálvez, then a counselor of the Council of the Indies, informed on all decisions made so that he might review them and make comment. Gálvez had replied on March 8, 1774, and among the actions he criticized was Fages' removal:

> The viceroy removed Fages . . . but nowhere in the *expediente* do I find any reason, or justification, for this action other than the complaint of Fray Junípero Serra. It seems to me that this matter was handled in a most irregular manner, since Fages was deprived of an audience in which he might answer the charges against him. The governor of the peninsula [Felipe de Barri], at least, should have been consulted on the matter, since it involved the removal of an officer who had acquired recognized valor, conduct, and merit on those expeditions [of 1769–1770]. But since the act has been committed, and it is not proper to correct it with a rebuff to the viceroy, it is his majesty's desire that Don Pedro Fages be employed as a captain of one of the frontier presidios of New Spain, so that his honor will not suffer or his good services go unrewarded.[22]

A most appropriate position for Fages had coincidentally materialized at that time, for the command of the Second Catalan Volunteer Company in Guadalajara had recently become vacant. On June 6, 1774, Pascual de Cisneros, inspector general of the troops of New Spain, had named Fages his first choice for the opening, and Bucareli had forwarded the recommendation to Spain with his endorsement on June 26.[23]

Gálvez' firmly worded order relative to Fages could have been a source of irritation to Bucareli, but two factors precluded this possibility. Bucareli's subsequent statement that he had regretted Fages' removal as military commandant of Upper California "after I had come to know him" reveals a change of heart on Bucareli's part.[24] The second factor derived from a surprising source —Father Serra. Before leaving Monterey, Fages had requested that the father-president write the viceroy on his behalf.[25] Serra had complied on June 19, 1774, and he was charitable toward his former antagonist. He attributed Fages' mistakes to "sheer lack of understanding and reflection rather than from malice" and urged Bucareli to "treat him with every kind of piety, to show him every favor, and honor, permissible to fair treatment when tempered with mercy."[26] Gálvez' order, in short, made Bucareli's policy toward Fages mandatory, while the respect and liking he soon developed for the Catalan officer, in addition to Serra's kind words, made its execution agreeable.

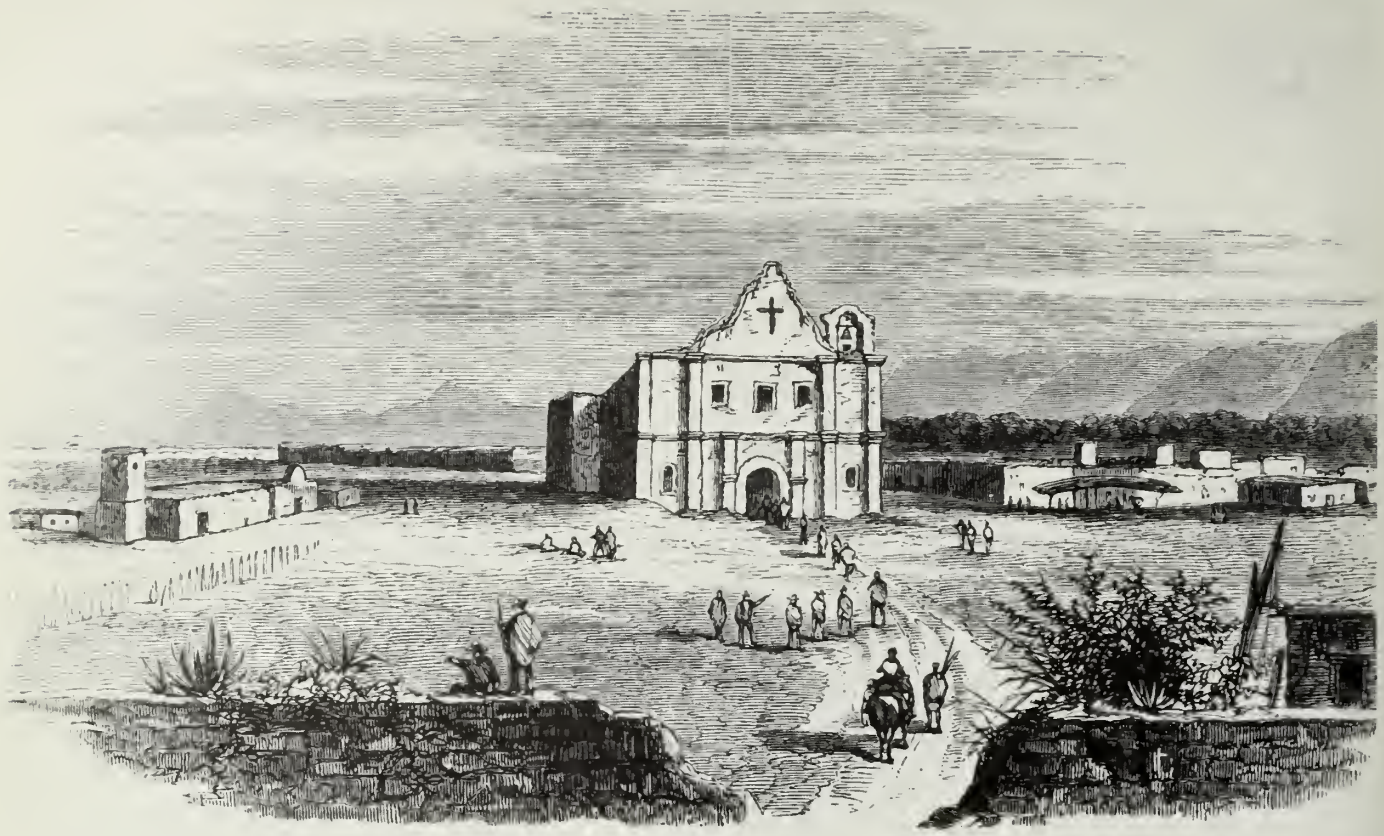
While Fages' command was pending, Bucareli assigned him another task—the writing of an official report on Upper California. First-hand information which Fages could provide on Spain's newest frontier province would be of value, and the viceroy may have felt that a period of relatively sedentary activity would enable Fages to regain his health before returning to more demanding duties.

Fages devoted most of the next year to the undertaking. His sources were previously published reports on Upper California, Miguel Costansó's diary of the first land expedition to Monterey Bay, dispatches he himself had written while military commandant, and notes he had taken on his personal experiences and observations. The finished document was dated and signed on November 20, 1775.[27]

Fages' report is well-known through Herbert Ingram Priestley's published translation.[28] Fages dealt with the general areas of Upper California, beginning with San Diego in the south and taking each in ascending order to



IHS
Cutganes 1701
Moqui
APACHES
Rio Gila
Sierra grande divisada desde el Rio Gila año 1699
Rio Azul
Rio Colorado, ó del Norte
YUMAS
COCOMARICOPAS
Casa grande
S Pedro
S Pablo 1699
Hoabonomas
Bagiopas
La Tinaja
PAPAGOS
S Francisco
San Serafin
S Bonifacio
Sta Catalina
S Angelo
S Agustin
S Pantaleon
Rosario
S Marcos
S Salvador
Quiburio
S Cruz
Victoria
S Eugenio
Medanos de Arena
Aqua escondida
Aguage de la Luna
La Merced
Monte de Sta Clara 1698
S Rafael
S Marcelo
PIMERIA
Carrizal
S Eduardo
Batequi
Caborca
S Luis de Bacapa
Tres ojitos
S Diego de Pitquin
Tupo
Tubutama
Remedios
Dolores
Cucurpe
S Ignacio
Ticopa
Opodepe
Nacameri
Populo
Angeles
Ures
Babiacora
Azotzi
Bacanuchi
Bacuachi
Chinapa
Arispe
Bana ichi
Real de S Juan Bautista
SOBAS
Nazareno
Tepoquis
Pto de Sta Sabina
Bahia de S Juan Bautista
Rio de Sonora
PROVINCIA DE SONORA
SERIS
GUAIMAS
Pto de San Xavier
Rio Hiaqui
Matape
Tonichi
Onabas
Nure
Alamos
Nacori
S Miguel
Punta de Lobos
Provincia de Ostimuri
Puerto de S Maran
Rio Mayo
Provincia de Cinaloa
Esteros de S Marcos
Puerto y esteros de San Lucas
Rio del Fuerte
Ahome
Bahia de Sta Maria
Rio de Cinaloa
Baxos de San Ignacio
Culiacan
Baxos de Culiacan
GOLFO DE CALIFORNIA Ó MAR ROXO DE CORTES
Canal de Ballenas
Islas de sal si puedes
I San Esteban
I San Agustin
I Tortuga
Naciones Gentiles no conocidas
CALIFORNIA
COCHIMIES
MONQUI
PERICUES
S Juan Bautista
S Bernabe
La Trinidad
Carlos
S Ana
Cabo de las Virgenes
Agueda
Las Virgenes en que se descubrieron Volcanes de fuego año 1746
Colapagos
Cabo de San Marcos
I Tortuguitas
S Miguel
I S Ildefonso
Bahia de Concepcion
I del Carmen
Coronados
Loreto
Misn de S Franco Xavier
S Juan
S Carlos
I S Joseph
I del Espiritu Santo
I Cerralbo
I Catalina
I Santa Cruz
I Montserrate
B de la Magdalena
Pto del Marques
Puerto de la Paz
Misn de Santiago de los Coras
Ensenada de las Palmas
Cabo de la Porfia
Bahia de S Bernabe
Cabo de San Lucas
Misn de Guadalupe
La Asuncion
Los abrojos
Farallon de los Alixos
Miss de S Ignacio
AL REY N.S. LA PROVINCIA de la Compañia de JHS de Nueva España lo D. y C. 1757



the region north of Monterey. In each case he treated the history and prevailing conditions of the Spanish settlements, the ethnology, the topography, the flora, and the fauna.

Fages' work has considerable merit, and it has, for example, been described as "most admirable and scientific."[29] Scholars, particularly ethnologists, have found it a rich source of material, for Fages devoted detailed attention to a subject he obviously found fascinating.

Fages' report also provides insight into its author's intellectual traits. He had great interest in matters scientific and possessed unusual powers of observation. A high degree of literary talent is also evident, and one wonders if the Catalan had not missed his calling.

By early 1776 Fages had assumed command of the Second Company of Catalan Volunteers in Guadalajara. Generally, the company's duties were routine; the providing of security for Guadalajara and its environs, and the occasional sending of detachments to the Department of San Blas.[30]

Fages, however, was soon called upon to perform another service for Upper California. Following the Indian attack upon Mission San Diego on November 5, 1775, Military Commandant Rivera y Moncada requested twenty-five additional soldiers. When the California governor, Felipe de Neve, was unable to provide them, the task fell to Fages, who recruited the men in the Guadalajara and Tepic areas. The troops departed from San Blas for Loreto on July 9, 1776, and by late September had reached San Diego.[31]

Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza, celebrated blazer of the land-route to Upper California, was responsible for bringing Fages' Guadalajara duty to a close. Teodoro de Croix, commandant general of the *Provincias Internas*, had in early 1777 appointed Anza governor of Sonora, which was then being plagued by Indian hostilities.[32] On August 12, 1777, Croix received an urgent dispatch from Anza. Conditions in Sonora were critical, and he requested that 500 additional troops be sent to the province. Anza specifically asked that Fages' Catalan Volunteer Company be included in the reinforcements; the Catalans would be particularly valuable, since they had served in Elizondo's campaign and would be familiar with the territory and the mode of warfare required.[33]

Santa Cruz, the centermost of the three presidios facing the Apachería, proved vulnerable to attack on all sides.

Anza's request prompted prolonged correspondence between Commandant General Croix and Viceroy Bucareli. Croix immediately informed Bucareli of the Sonoran crisis and asked for the additional soldiers; Fages' company, he suggested, should be sent to the province as soon as possible.[34] Bucareli demurred, insisting that the Catalan company was needed in the viceroyalty.[35] Croix persisted, however, and letters on the subject passed between the two officials for several weeks.[36] Finally, on November 12, Bucareli ordered Fages' company to march to the Real de los Alamos in Sonora, where it would be at Croix's disposal as long as it was needed. Bucareli would provide for the company's march northward, and the commandant general would be responsible for its needs upon its arrival.[37]

Necessary preparations having been made, the Catalan Volunteers departed from Guadalajara and began their long journey, probably in late December. The route they followed, which took them through Tepic, Rosario, Mazatlan, Culiacan, and El Fuerte, was almost identical to that of the present trunk railroad along Mexico's west coast.[38] On February 7, 1778, they reached the Real de los Alamos.[39]

Croix was most anxious that the Catalan Volunteers promptly advance to El Pitic, the center of the rebellious Seris' resistance. Two months were required, however, to obtain the animals and supplies necessary to put the company on a sound footing.[40] The Catalans departed for El Pitic early in April and arrived there on the twenty-second of the month.[41]

The Seris began surrendering to the Spaniards that same day, and Croix wrote Bucareli that the coincidence of the Catalan arrival and the Seri capitulation proved the utility of those troops in the area.[42] The Catalans had taken no action against the rebels, but Croix apparently felt that their mere presence had a salutary effect.

Juan Bautista de Anza was soon responsible once again for putting Fages' Catalan company on the march. Recently named governor of New Mexico, Anza wrote, at Croix's request, a full report on conditions in Sonora before he departed to assume his new responsibilities. Anza felt that Apache attacks from the north constituted the province's most serious threat. Santa Cruz, the centermost of three presidios facing the *Apachería*, was the key to checking the incursions, but the troops there had constantly been on the defensive. He recommended that the Catalan Volunteers be garrisoned at that position; they would greatly strengthen it and might even be able to take the offensive against the enemy. Croix, consequently, named Fages commander of Presidio Santa Cruz and ordered his company to that post. The Catalans reached their destination in late summer or early fall of 1778.[43]

Fages' duty at Santa Cruz was probably the most trying of his entire military career. Located in an isolated position, the presidio was vulnerable to attack on all sides, and it could be supplied only with great difficulty. Anza's confidence in the Catalan Volunteers, moreover, proved to be excessive, for Apache depredations in the area actually increased in 1778 and 1779. Typical of Croix's frequent reports on the presidio's deplorable state is the following:

> The company of Santa Cruz of regular dotacion was unable to defend the post. Reenforced with volunteers composed of eighty men, it was suffering daily attacks of the enemies. It was never able to prevent the ingress of these into the interior of the province; and already the troops were becoming possessed with the terror of panic.[44]

Fages doubtless gained some consolation upon learning that his services, as inauspicious as they were at the time, had not gone unrewarded; on October 22, 1778, his earlier request for promotion to lieutenant colonel received royal approval.[45]

Fages soon experienced a welcome change of environment. The Catalan Volunteer Company, as a result of deaths, desertions, and retirements, was by late 1779 at no more than half-strength. It was also suffering from a severe lack of clothing and arms. Croix, therefore, com-

missioned Fages to go to Mexico City for the purpose of recruiting replacements and obtaining supplies for his company. In January, 1780, Fages took leave of the "inhuman Apaches," as he once described them, and began his trip to the friendlier confines of the capital.[46]

Completing his journey by late spring or early summer, Fages promptly began his assigned tasks.[47] He also took time to attend to a personal matter. On December 27, 1777, Viceroy Bucareli had forwarded to Spain Fages' request to marry Eulalia Callis, daughter of Colonel Agustín Callis, his former commanding officer.[48] Permission meanwhile having been granted, the planned nuptuals took place. The precise date when fifty-year-old Fages acquired his much younger mate is not certain.

Fages, accompanied by his wife, some Catalan servants, and the new recruits, began his return to Sonora in late 1780. A pack-train carrying the supplies followed shortly afterward. Fages' party reached Arispe by early April, 1781.[49]

The long trip was completed none too soon for Doña Eulalia; on May 30, 1781, she presented Fages with a son. The child was baptized on June 4 with Don Pedro Corbalán, the governor intendant of Sonora, acting as godfather.[50] The boy was named Pedro José Fernando, but he would be simply called "Pedrito" by his proud and fond father.

Fages doubtless was pleased when he learned that his duty at Presidio Santa Cruz had ended. In order to control



Sahuara and cholla cactus marked the Apachería desert where Fages faced the most trying duty of his military career

more effectively the Seris, who once again were in rebellion, Croix had transferred Presidio San Miguel Horcasitas to El Pitic and had ordered Fages' Catalan company to that post.[51] The change of adversary from Apache to Seri must have been a welcome one.

Fages had completed his march to El Pitic by midsummer of 1781. He could then feel that his travels were over for a while and that in the foreseeable future his time would be devoted to operations against the Seris and relaxation with his newly-acquired family.

Fate determined, however, that Fages' stay at El Pitic should be of a most abbreviated duration, for on July 17–19, 1781, the Yumas, led by Chief Salvador Palma, destroyed the recently-established Spanish settlements on the Colorado River. The four Franciscans serving there, as well as most of the soldiers and male settlers, were killed, and the women and children taken prisoner. Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, on the Colorado resting livestock after having sent ahead to Mission San Gabriel the troops and settlers he had recruited for the founding of the pueblo of Los Angeles and the Santa Barbara Channel presidio and missions, also perished in the uprising.[52]

Commandant General Croix, upon learning of the disaster, promptly reacted. On September 9 he convened a *Junta de Guerra* in Arispe to determine a course of action. It was first agreed that the Yumas should be regarded as apostates and rebels, and thus proceeded against accordingly. A respectable military force should be sent to their country. Its first objective would be ransoming of the Christian captives, utilizing clothing and other items coveted by the Indians. The Yumas would then be offered Spanish peace terms: they were to surrender the chiefs responsible for the rebellion to be executed in their presence; to relinquish all appropriated royal and church property; and to return to their reductions. No further harm would be done the rebels if those conditions were met, but otherwise they were to be chastised and taught respect for the crown. The commander of the Spanish expedition was also to communicate with Felipe de Neve, the California governor, who would appropriately direct any military operations in his province, either by sending orders or by personally assuming command.[53]

Croix immediately issued orders necessary to put the *Junta*'s resolutions into effect. Fages was placed in command of the Colorado River expedition, and Captain Pedro Tueros was named second officer. The military force was to be comprised of 170 men, exclusive of officers—forty Catalan Volunteers, sixty presidio soldiers, and seventy Indian auxiliaries.[54] Father Enrique Cenizo, a Franciscan, would act as its chaplain.[55]

Fages departed from Altar Presidio on October 1 and began his march to the Colorado River. The Spanish party traveled almost directly northward to the Gila River, which it then descended toward its destination. Made without incidents of particular note, the journey ended when the Colorado was reached on October 18.[56]

Chief Palma and about five hundred armed Yumas were awaiting the Spaniards on the opposite bank. The wary natives declined to cross the river for a conference, but gifts were exchanged and the ransoming of the Christian prisoners begun. During October 18–19 Fages acquired the release of sixty-two prisoners. Meanwhile, the remains of Rivera y Moncada and his men were found and buried. Fragments of the deceased captain's papers also were collected.[57]

Fages found it impossible to accomplish more, however. The Yumas were in no mood to accept the harsh Spanish peace terms, particularly after Fages, not wishing to alienate possible allies, supported an attack upon them by three Gila River tribes on the morning of October 20. Fages considered two options: he could, as his orders called for, cross the river and attack the enemy, or he could remain where he was and await a more opportune time to gain his ends. Both alternatives presented prob-

Fort Yuma at the strategically important junction of the Colorado and Gila rivers.

lems, however. The lives of the Christians still in Yuma hands would be endangered by the first, while a shortage of supplies, inadequate pasturage for the animals, and the ransomed prisoners' suffering due to lack of clothing precluded the second.[58]

Fages convened a council of his officers on October 21, and it was decided that the force should retreat to Sonóitac, a Pápago village approximately 125 miles to the southeast. From there the freed prisoners could be sent to Altar Presidio and new supplies obtained. Fages, however, planned a prompt return to the Colorado so that he might fulfill the balance of his orders.[59]

The Spaniards began their march later that same day. Traversing a route which included the dreaded *Camino del Diablo*, they reached Sonóitac on October 27.[60]

Fages reported immediately to Croix on the expedition's activities to that date. Included in his dispatch was detailed testimony on the Yuma uprising which he had obtained from six of its survivors. Much of what is known about the disaster comes from that document.[61]

Croix, upon receiving Fages' communications, convened another *Junta de Guerra* in Arispe on November 15. Fages' actions to that time were approved, and new plans were formulated. Fages was to return to the Colorado as soon as possible and immediately attack the Yumas. He meanwhile was to send notice of his arrival to Governor Neve. If necessary, Neve was to come to the Colorado with reinforcements and assume command of military operations. When the rebels had capitulated, Fages' provisions were to be carried out and a presidio established on the Colorado to protect Spanish settlements re-created there and the land-route to California.[62]

Unfortunately for the Colorado River campaign's coordination and effectiveness, Fages did not receive Croix's orders before his departure from Sonóitac. For some unexplained reason, the packet containing them did not reach Altar Presidio until November 27. Lieutenant Andrés Arias promptly sent it northward with two Indian couriers who arrived at Sonóitac on the twenty-ninth. Fages had left for the Colorado six days before, and lack of an adequate escort precluded sending the orders after him.[63]

Fages had, however, received one additional instruction from Croix prior to his departure. Fray Antonio Barbastro, Franciscan prefect of Pimería Alta, had requested that the remains of the Colorado River martyrs, and recovered church property and papers, be sent to him at Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama. Croix's order that the father's wishes be honored had reached Fages on November 21.[64]

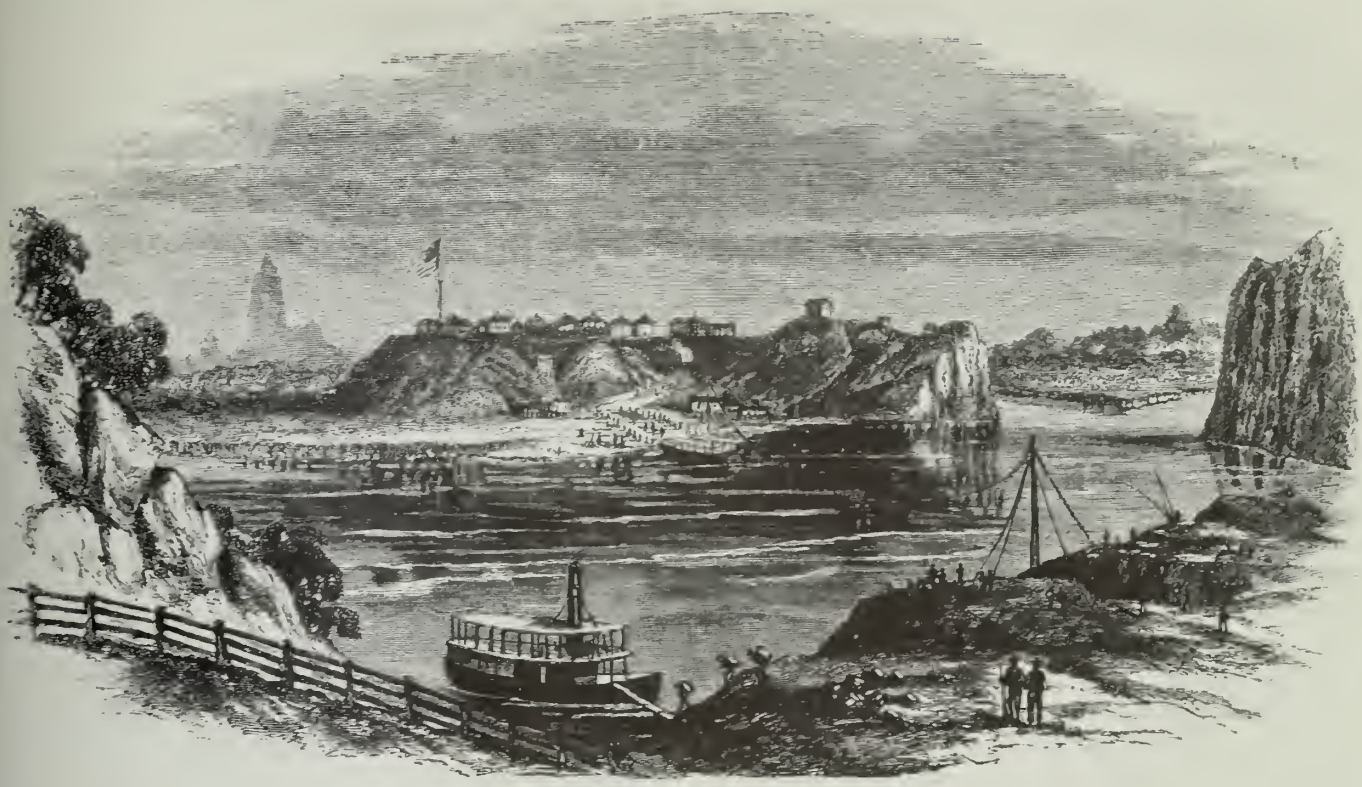
Retracing the Camino del Diablo route, Fages arrived at the Colorado on November 29. The Spanish force, on that occasion, promptly forded the river and encamped near the destroyed Spanish settlement of La Concepción.[65]

Fages remained on the Colorado for two weeks, and he used the time fruitfully. The last of the Christian captives were ransomed from the Yumas; the remains of the four Franciscans and of numerous soldiers and settlers were found; and considerable royal and church property was recovered.[66]

The basic objective of reestablishing Spanish control of the region was not realized, however. Several parleys with the Yumas proved fruitless, as did military efforts to chastise them. Two carefully planned ambushes were averted by the cautious Indians, and the principal conflict occurred when they attacked the Spanish camp and were repulsed with rather heavy casualties. Later efforts to locate and engage the rebels came to naught, and evidence indicated they had deserted their lands and fled down river.[67]

Deciding that no more could be accomplished in the immediate future, Fages on December 12 ordered a return to Sonóitac, from where he could report to Croix and await further instructions. The Spaniards departed the next day and reached their destination on December 17. Only then did Fages receive Croix's orders of November 15.[68]

Fages promptly wrote Croix, explaining his belated



receipt of the instructions and reporting on the expedition's actions to that date. He also enclosed a copy of his diary in the dispatch so that the commandant general might be fully informed on the subject. Fages indicated that chastisement of the Yumas had been impossible, since they apparently had abandoned their lands, but that they had suffered considerable punishment during their attack on the Spanish camp. Finally, Fages volunteered to travel to Mission San Gabriel with orders Croix might wish to send to Governor Neve.[69]

Croix, upon receiving the dispatches, obviously was ired by Fages' failure to carry out fully his previous orders, and he wrote Lieutenant Arias inquiring as to when and where Fages had received them. Arias' explanation extricated Fages from an awkward position.[70]

On January 2, 1782, Croix convened yet another *Junta de Guerra* in Arispe for consideration of the still unresolved Colorado River problem. Its decisions, with Croix's modifications of the next few days, greatly revised previous arrangements. Captain José Antonio Roméu of the Dragoons of Spain was to relieve Fages as commander of the Colorado River expedition, and his dragoon unit was to replace the Catalan Volunteers as the regular army core of the military force. Tueros was to remain as second officer. Roméu was to reach the Colorado by April 1 and to encamp at a site on the river bank where pasturage was adequate and where Yuma movements could be observed. He was to attack the rebels only if an opportunity for striking a decisive blow should arise.[71]

Neve, meanwhile, was to suspend the Santa Barbara Channel foundings and march to the Colorado with all troops which could be spared in California. He was to arrive by April 1 and cooperate with Roméu in crushing the Yumas. Once victory had been achieved, Neve was to carry out all of Croix's previous orders.[72]

Fages was given a critical role in the new plan, for his offer to deliver Croix's orders to Neve was accepted. He was to leave for California as soon as possible with forty soldiers of his choice. Upon his arrival, he was to place himself under Neve's orders and aid him in every way possible.[73]

The Yuma Indians resisted the harsh Spanish peace terms offered by Fages, who sought to reassert Spanish control over the region.



Fages spent two months at Mission El Pitic de Caborca preparing for his long journey.[74] During that time he performed two services for Father Barbastro. He first traveled to Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama and personally delivered the remains of the Colorado River martyrs and the recovered church property to the father prefect.[75] Barbastro then requested a second favor: wishing the four Franciscans to be absolved of blame for the Colorado River disaster, and knowing that Fages had obtained considerable information on the subject from the ransomed captives, he asked him to conduct a juridical investigation of the virtues, labors, conduct, and deaths of the martyrs. Fages' report, dated February 16, 1782, was all Barbastro could have desired, for the friars' conduct was shown to be exemplary in all respects.[76]

Fages departed from Mission El Pitic de Caborca and began his trip to California in the afternoon of February 27. Accompanying him were thirty-nine men—eleven Catalan Volunteers and twenty-eight presidial soldiers.[77]

Fages' arduous march, much of it over inhospitable desert, led to the Colorado River which was crossed on March 11. The Spaniards then followed Anza's short-cut route through the present-day Imperial Valley, an ordeal which ended when they reached the Quemaya village of San Sebastián on March 15.[78]

Fages crossed the San Jacinto range by way of San Carlos Pass. While traveling through the San Jacinto Valley, the Spanish party was compelled to halt its march because of heavy rainfall. Fages, however, continued on with a few soldiers and arrived at Mission San Gabriel shortly after nightfall of March 26.[79]

Although it had been popularized by Anza, it is worthy of note that the route Fages had followed across the San Jacinto's had originally been blazed by Fages himself. In October, 1772, while seeking deserters from the California establishments, he had traveled from San Diego to the desert by crossing the Cuyamacas and had then proceeded to the vicinity of Mission San Gabriel by way of this route. It was during the course of that same march that he subsequently had discovered the southern San Joaquin Valley.[80]

Neve, after conferring with Fages, decided that the Colorado River campaign should be postponed until mid-September. His stated reasons were two: the Colorado's water was then too high for effective operations, and by September the Yuma harvests would provide spoils for Indian allies of the Spaniards. Fages may have

suggested the change, or Neve may simply have been reluctant to postpone the Santa Barbara Channel foundations. Regardless, Fages doubtless provided the rationale for the action.[81]

Since it was imperative that news of the revised plans promptly be sent to Croix and Roméu, Fages offered personally to carry the dispatches to the latter, who already was encamped on the Colorado. Neve agreed but insisted that Fages return so that he might accompany him on his march to the river in September.[82]

Fages, accompanied by twenty soldiers, departed from Mission San Gabriel on April 2. Upon reaching the Colorado on April 13, he found Roméu's force encamped on the bank opposite the ruins of La Concepción. Fages crossed the river and spent the night with Roméu and Tueros, and the following afternoon he began his return trip to Mission San Gabriel.[83]

On April 17 Fages reached San Sebastián and resumed his march after a brief one-hour rest. Meanwhile, he had decided to return to Mission San Gabriel by way of San Diego. His stated reason for taking that circuitous route was that the mountain Indians around San Diego were reportedly restive, and a march through their lands would both enable him to observe their movements and make them feel respect for Spanish arms.[84] It may be, however, that Fages wished to visit the scene of many of his earlier California experiences, and realizing that his prompt return to Mission San Gabriel was not imperative, he determined to take advantage of the opportunity offered.

Fages would be traveling over familiar terrain much of the way, for he doubtless planned to retrace the route he had followed through the Cuyamacas during the march of 1772. Upon reaching San Diego, however, he would have completed the first trip made directly from the Colorado River to that Spanish settlement.

Despite occasional difficulties with the terrain, the crossing of the Cuyamacas was made with relative ease. Two large Camillare villages were visited, and the natives were peaceful and friendly, contrary to the reports Fages had received. The Spaniards reached Mission San Diego on April 20.[85]

After a day's stay at Presidio San Diego, Fages proceeded northward. He spent the night of the twenty-third at Mission San Juan Capistrano and arrived at Mission San Gabriel on the twenty-fifth.[86]

Fages soon requested permission from Neve to visit the province's northern establishments. Since the march to the Colorado would not begin until late August, the governor gave his approval.[87]

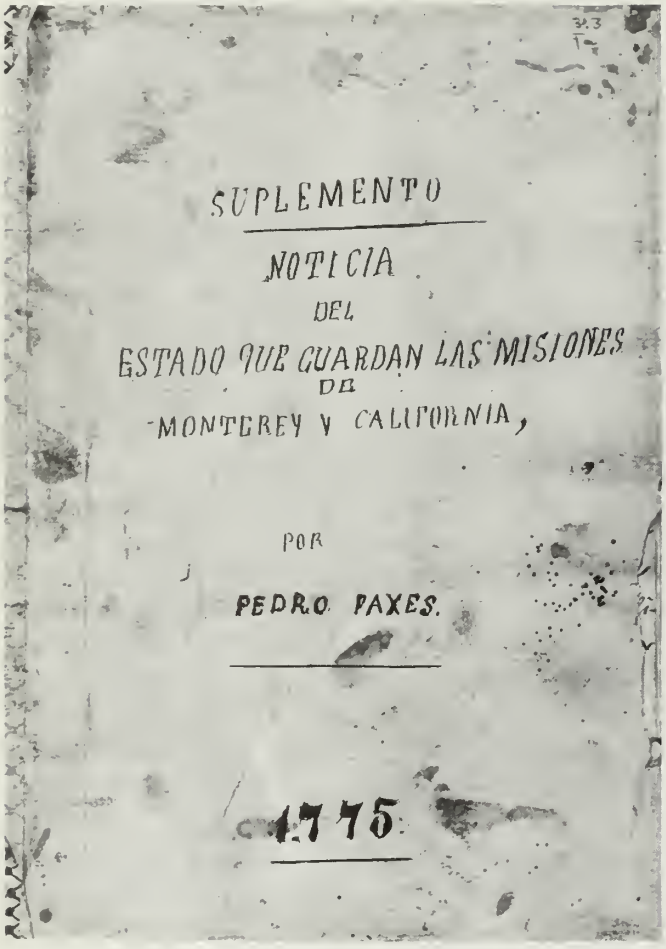
Fages spent the next few weeks on a leisurely trip northward, making brief stops at each of the presidios and missions. It was also a period for renewing old acquaintances. Fages visited with Father Serra at Mission San Carlos, after a separation of eight years, and he spent several days with Father Francisco Palóu, another associate of earlier times, at Mission San Francisco.[88] Once back at Mission San Gabriel, Fages' objective had been realized: since returning from the Colorado he had visited all of Upper California's establishments from San Diego to San Francisco.

Fages worked with Neve at Mission San Gabriel during the next few weeks, making preparations for the march to the Colorado. An advance party with most of the provisions departed on August 21, and Neve and Fages began their trip with the main body of troops a few days later. The two groups were to unite en route and proceed to the river together.[89]

Fages' future plans soon underwent drastic revision. On September 4, the Spanish party was met by a courier with dispatches from Croix. Neve had been appointed inspector general of the presidios and troops of the Provincias Internas, and Fages was to succeed him as California governor.[90]

The circumstances surrounding Fages' appointment to the California governorship are deserving of attention. In January, 1779, Croix had requested that the crown fill the vacant position of inspector general of the *Provincias Internas*, and he had nominated Neve for the office.[91]

Fages' official report on Upper California reveals his powers of scientific and ethnological observation, as well as considerable literary talent.


SUPLEMENTO

NOTICIA

DEL

ESTADO QUE GUARDAN LAS MISIONES

DE

MONTEREY Y CALIFORNIA,

POR

PEDRO FAXES.

1775

With the matter still pending, Captain Tueros had petitioned for promotion to lieutenant colonel. Croix, in recommending that the request be granted, had proposed that Tueros be named Neve's successor, should he be given the inspector-generalship.[92] In July, 1782, Croix received royal orders which approved all of his previous recommendations in this area.[93] Events had intervened, however, which prompted him to modify somewhat their intent. Don Juan Ugalde, the governor of Coahuila, had been opposing many of Croix's policies and had violated his orders relative to military tactics against Indian adversaries. Croix, consequently, had decided to remove Ugalde on grounds of insubordination and negligence and to replace him with Tueros.[94] Rather than remove Tueros from the Coahuila governorship, Croix decided to leave him in that position and to name Fages as Neve's successor.[95] The new arrangement ultimately received royal approval, but the inescapable conclusion remains that Fages essentially gained the California governorship by default.

Fages' appointment was no less a reality, however, and Neve promptly prepared to relinquish his office. His instructions to Fages were dated and signed at Saucillo . . . de Santa Catalina on September 7.[96] Three days later, at San Sebastián, the formal transfer took place when Fages received the keys to the archives and other governmental buildings in Monterey.[97] Neve then resumed his march to the Colorado, while Fages turned back to assume his new responsibilities.

Fages' governorship is outside the scope of this paper, but a few personal events of the period might be noted. In 1783 the Fages family was reunited when Doña Eulalia and Pedrito made the long trip from Sonora to California, and in August, 1784, its size was increased when the *gobernadora* gave birth to a daughter, María del Carmen.[98] The well-known domestic difficulties of the Fages which soon developed need no elaboration here.[99] His performance as governor was creditable and brought him promotion to colonel on February 18, 1789.[100]

On December 18, 1789, Fages petitioned for permission to retire from office and requested a leave of absence so that he might visit Spain. Citing his advanced age of sixty years, he claimed that he was no longer physically able to carry out his duties.[101] On May 16, 1790, Viceroy Revilla Gigedo accepted Fages' resignation and named Lieutenant José Antonio Roméu as his successor. Fages was to return to Mexico City, where he would receive twelve months' advance pay to defray the cost of his trip to Spain.[102]

Fages remained in California for almost a year and a

half longer. On April 16, 1791, his governorship officially ended when José Joaquín Arrillaga, the lieutenant-governor, formally transferred the office to Roméu in Loreto.[103] Fages, however, did not leave the province until October, when he sailed on the *Aranzazu*.[104] Reaching San Blas in early November, he traveled to Mexico City and rejoined his family, whose departure from California had preceded his.[105]

Fages' plans were altered after his arrival in the capital city. His age and Doña Eulalia's inability to travel forced abandonment of the contemplated trip to Spain. Fages instead petitioned that he be given another governorship in New Spain and that meanwhile his full salary as colonel continue.[106] A royal order of July 12, 1792, granted both requests. Fages, it indicated, should be given preference in future gubernatorial vacancies.[107]

Fages' long service to the Spanish crown had neared its end, however. In August, 1793, he completed a report on Monterey's presidial buildings,[108] but otherwise he merely resided in Mexico City as an officer without appointment.[109] He was also involved in considerable litigation over the finances of several Upper California presidios during that time.[110]

Fages' death came in the midst of the legal proceedings. The evidence of this fact is clinically cold and leaves us with as little knowledge of Fages' departure as we possess of his life prior to his entry onto the historical record thirty-two years before. The Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City houses a thick volume of documents relative to military affairs of New Spain in the eighteenth century, and within it is a page entitled: "Service Records of Officers of Graduation who died in the year 1794."[111] Included among the service records is that of Don Pedro Fages.

The map is reproduced from Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, volume 1 (1908); the desert photo and diary page are from the CHS Library; and the Yuma Indians from Wm. Emory, *Report on the US-Mexico Boundary Survey* (1857). Other drawings are from J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country* (1869).

Notes

1. Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, 1773, in Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 167A (archive hereinafter cited as AGN); Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, 1776, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 167A; Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, 1791, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66; Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, 1793, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 152A.
2. Conclusions drawn from information on Fages' Hojas de Servicios and from the quality of the official reports he authored during the course of his military career.
3. Fages' Hojas de Servicios cited in note 1.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Gaspar de Portolá, Hoja de Servicios, 1771, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 84A; Felipe de Neve, Hoja de Servicios, 1773, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 54 (Bucareli, May, 1773).
6. For details on the abortive Spanish invasion of Portugal, see Lawrence H. Gipson, *The Great War for Empire: The Culmination, 1760–1763* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), 257–260.
7. Acuerdo de la junta de generales sobre el preciso aumento de tropa veterana, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 15 (Croix, 1776–1771); Plan de la tropa veterana y de nueva leva que se considera necesaria y se destina á la expedición de la Sonora y fronteras, de la Nueva Vizcaya, con arreglo a lo acordado en junta de generales del día 8 de enero de 1767, in Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Audiencia de Mexico, legajo 2477 (archive hereinafter cited as AGI).
8. Bucareli lacked enthusiasm for Gálvez' frontier policy in New Spain, which may have been a factor in his failure to provide the company of fusiliers. If this disagreement over policy was the basis of Bucareli's decision, his personal influence upon Fages' career was considerable. See, Bucareli to Miguel de Muzquiz, Havana, February 26, 1767, as quoted in Luis Navarro García, *José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de Nueva España* (Seville: Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano, 1964), 155 (hereinafter cited as Navarro García, *Gálvez*).
9. Julián de Arriaga to Marqués de Croix, Madrid, May 12, 1767, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 416; Fages' Hojas de Servicios cited in note 1 above; Agustín Callis, Hoja de Servicios, 1776, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 167A.

   Fages' Hojas de Servicios of 1791 and 1793 indicate that the formation date of the *Compañía Franca de Voluntarios de Cataluña* was May 15, but evidence strongly indicates that this was in error.
10. Referente a toma de razon en España y México de abonos á officiales de la Compañía Franca de Voluntarios de Cataluña . . . por haberse determinada contiene sus servicios en el Reino de México . . . en el expedición de Sonora, signed by Pedro Toral Valdez, Contador General de Real Hacienda y Guerra, Mexico,

November 3, 1767, in Archive of California, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, volume 1 (archive hereinafter cited as CA).

11. Croix to Arriaga, Mexico City, August 27, 1767, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 416; Croix to Arriaga, Mexico City, September 24, 1767, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virrèyes, tomo 11 (Croix, 1766–1767); Croix to Arriaga, Mexico City, September 27, 1767, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 11 (Croix, 1766–1767).
12. Relación de la expedición de las provincias de Sinaloa, Ostimuri, y Sonora en el Reino de Nueva España, Mexico, September 1, 1768, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 416.
13. *Ibid.*; Elizondo to Don Juan de Pineda, Guaymas, May 11, 1768, in *Documentos para la Historia de México* (Cuarta Serie: Mexico, 1856), 2:146–147.
14. For details of this early phase of Elizondo's Sonoran campaign, see Donald Winslow Rowland, "The Elizondo Expedition against the Indian Rebels of Sonora, 1765–1771" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: University of California, Berkeley, 1930), 124–126, 140–161.
15. Portolá to Croix, Loreto, August 24, 1768, in AGN, Californias, tomo 76; Croix to Portolá, Mexico City, November 19, 1768, in AGN, Californias, tomo 76.
16. *Testimonios* regarding a grant of 1500 *pesos* to Pedro Fages in recognition of his services in Alta California, Mexico, February 12, 1776, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 515.
17. Gálvez to Fages, Real de Santa Ana, October 16, 1768, in CA, volume 1; Domingo Clua to Junípero Serra, Monterey, December 24, 1772, in CA, volume 1; Gálvez to Serra, Real de Santa Ana, October 11, 1768, in Documentos relativos a las Misiones de Californias, Lancaster-Jones Papers, Quarto 1, Museo Nacional, Mexico; Gálvez to Serra, Real de Santa Ana, October 22, 1768, in Documentos relativos a las Misiones de Californias, Lancaster-Jones Papers, Quarto 1, Museo Nacional, Mexico.
18. For a detailed study of Fages' career during these years, see Donald Andrew Nuttall, "Pedro Fages and the Advance of the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1767–1782" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1964), chapters II–IX.
19. Expediente en la averguacin de un robo dinero al Capitán Don Pedro Fages, written by Francisco Antonio del Valle, Teniente Alcalde, Irapuato, December 19, 1774, in CA, volume 1.
20. For an account of this episode, see Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., trans. & annot., *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 67–68 (hereinafter cited as Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra.*)
21. Bucareli to Serra, Mexico City, January 2, 1775, *ibid.*, 272.
22. Gálvez to Arriaga, Madrid, March 8, 1774, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 514.
23. Recommendation of Pascual de Cisneros, Mexico City, June 6, 1774, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 55 (Bucareli, June, 1774); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico City, June 26, 1774, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 55 (Bucareli, June, 1774).
24. Bucareli's Instructions to Teodoro de Croix, Mexico City, March 20, 1777, in Houghton Library, Harvard University, J. Sparkes Collection, No. 98, Vol. III, No. 15, Article 46, as quoted in Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., ed., *Writings of Junípero Serra* (4 vols.; Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955–1966), 1:421 (hereinafter cited as Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*).
25. Geiger, *Palou's Life of Serra*, 271.
26. Serra to Bucareli, Monterey, July 19, 1774, in Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, 2:126–129.
27. Continuación y suplemente á los dos impresos que de orden de este Superior Gobierno hand corrido. . . . Hase y presenta esta relacion por superior mandato de su Excelencia el Señor Virrey actual de estos reynos, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, el capitán de infantería de la Compañía Franca de Voluntarios de Catalaña . . . , Don Pedro Fages, Mexico, November 20, 1775. The original of his manuscript is in Documentos relativos á los Misiones de Californias, Lancaster-Jones Papers, Quarto 4, Museo Nacional, Mexico. A signed contemporary copy, dated November 30, 1775, is in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 515.
28. Herbert Ingram Priestley, ed., *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages, Soldier of Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937).
29. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra*, (2 vols.: Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959), 1:394 (hereinafter cited as Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*).
30. Bucareli to Teodoro de Croix, Mexico City, August 27, 1777, in Rómulo Velasco Ceballos, ed., *La Administración de D. Frey Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa* (2 vols.; Mexico: Publicaciones de Archivo General de la Nación, tomos XXIX–XXX), 1:277–281 (hereinafter cited as Velasco Ceballos, *Administración de Bucareli*); Bernard E. Bobb, *The Viceregency of Antonio María Bucareli in New Spain, 1771–1779* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962), 89, 105 (hereinafter cited as Bobb, *Bucareli*).
31. Bucareli to Serra, Mexico City, March 26, 1776, in Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra*, 169–170; Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico City, March 27, 1776, in Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Anza's California Expeditions* (5 vols.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 5:336–342 (hereinafter cited as Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*); Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico City, August 27, 1776, in *ibid.*, 345–348; Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Historical Memoirs of New California by Fray Francisco Palóu, O.F.M.* (4 vols.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), 4:49 (hereinafter cited as Bolton, Palóu's *Memoirs*). The last source cited in this note

indicates that Fages accompanied the troops to San Diego, an obvious error.

32. Alfred Barnaby Thomas, ed., *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776–1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 21, 133–134 (hereinafter cited as Thomas, *Croix*).
33. Croix to Bucareli, Querétaro, August 22, 1777, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 515; Croix to Gálvez, Querétaro, August 23, 1777, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 515; Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico City, August 27, 1777, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 515. These documents are published in Velasco Ceballos, *Administración de Bucareli*, I:353–368. See also, Thomas, *Croix*, 133–136, 224–225.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Bucareli to Croix, Mexico City, August 27, 1777, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 515; Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico City, August 27, 1777, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 515. These documents are published in Velasco Ceballos, *Administración de Bucareli*, I:355–372.

    A major factor in this exchange between Bucareli and Croix was the already strained relations between the two men. Bucareli had resented the creation of the commandancy-generalship of the *Provincias Internas* in 1776, feeling it to be a reflection on his viceregal administration. He actually tendered his resignation but was persuaded by Charles III to remain in office. Bucareli and Croix also differed strongly on conditions on the northern frontier and measures necessary to remedy them. For a pro-Croix viewpoint on these events, see Thomas, *Croix*, 27–32. Bucareli's position is defended in Bobb, *Bucareli*, 148–152.
36. Correspondence between Bucareli and Croix on this matter during September and October is published in Velasco Ceballos, *Administración de Bucareli*, I:373–380.
37. Bucareli to Croix, Mexico City, November 12, 1777, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 515; Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico City, November 26, 1777, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 97 (Bucareli, November, 1777; Croix to Gálvez, Valle de Santa Rosa, February 15, 1778, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 276; Bucareli to Croix, Mexico City, December 10, 1777, in AGN, Provincias Internas, tomo 75.
38. Itenerario que debe llevan la Compañía de Fusileros de Montaña de cargo del Capitán Don Pedro Fages, que desde la ciudad de Guadalajara pasa a el Real de los Alamos a las ordenes del Senor Brigadier Don Teodoro de Croix, Comandante General de las Provincias Internas, Mexico City, November 12, 1777, an enclosure in Bucareli to Croix, Mexico City, November 12, 1777, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 276.
39. Croix to Gálvez, Chihuahua, April 3, 1778, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 276.
40. Croix to Gálvez, Santa Rosa, February 15, 1778, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 276; Croix to Gálvez, Chihuahua, April 3, 1778, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 276.
41. Croix to Gálvez, Chihuahua, June 29, 1778, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 276; Fages to Bucareli, El Pitic, May 23, 1778, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 108 (Bucareli, July, 1778); Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico City, July 27, 1778, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 108 (Bucareli, July, 1778).
42. Croix to Gálvez, Chihuahua, June 29, 1778, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 276.
43. Thomas, *Croix*, 144; Anza to Croix, Chihuahua, June 20, 1778, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 276; Croix to Gálvez, Chihuahua, June 29, 1778, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 276; Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, 1793, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 152A.
44. Thomas, *Croix*, 151.
45. Fages to Gálvez, Guadalajara, September 12, 1777, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 106 (Bucareli, May, 1778); Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico City, May 27, 1778, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 106 (Bucareli, May, 1778); Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico City, February 24, 1779, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 116 (Bucareli, February, 1779); Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, 1793, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 152A.
46. Thomas, *Croix*, 152–153; Fages to Manuel de Soto, Monterey, February, 1783, in CA, volume 23.
47. Numerous documents on these matters, dated from June to December, 1780, are in AGN, Historia, tomos 180 and 181, and in AGN, Provincias Internas, tomo 258.
48. Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico City, December 27, 1777, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 98 (Bucareli, December, 1777), and in AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, legajo 1380.
49. Thomas, *Croix*, 153.
50. Fages to Juan Agustín Morfi, El Pitic de Caborca, February 12, 1782, in AGN, Historia, tomo 24.
51. Thomas, *Croix*, 51–52, 154, 216–217. Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, March 23, 1781, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 271.
52. Details of the Yuma Massacre may be found in Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols.; San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Company, 1884–1890), I:362–364 (hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *California*).
53. Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, February 28, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 517; Junta de Guerra y Real Hacienda celebrada el día 9 de Septiembre de '81, enclosure in *Carpata* 3; Croix to Neve, Arispe, September 10, 1781, enclosure in *Carpeta* 3, and also in CA, volume 55. The communication to Neve was sent by way of Lower California, so that he might be prepared to act upon hearing of the Spanish expedition's arrival on the Colorado.

    An explanation of the nature of most of the basic documents used in dealing with the Colorado River campaign seems

advisable. Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, February 28, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 517 contains a summary of the Colorado River campaign up to that date. Enclosed with the letter were five *Carpetas*, of which Numbers 3–5 are herein used. *Carpeta* No. 3 is entitled: Expediente formado para la averiguacion del insulto cometido por los indios Yumas en los establecimientos del Río Colorado, y sobre su castigo dispuesto en Junta de Guerra celebrada el dia 7 (*sic*; correct date is 9) de Septiembre de '81. *Carpeta* No. 4 is entitled: Resultas de las providencias acordadas en Junta del día 9 de Septiembre de '81 y nuevas resoluciones de otra Junta de Guerra y Real Hacienda que se celebró el 15 de Noviembre siguiente. *Carpeta* No. 5 is entitled: Resultas de las providencias consecuentes a la Junta de Guerra y Real Hacienda de 15 de Noviembre de '81 y celebración de otra Junta el día 2 de Enero de 1782. Hereinafter, the *Carpeta* in which cited documents may be found will be indicated.

54. Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, February 28, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 517; Croix to Ugarte y Loyola, Arispe, September 10, 1781, enclosure in Carpeta 4.
55. Herbert Ingram Priestley, trans. & ed., "The Colorado River Campaign of 1781–1782: Diary of Pedro Fages," in *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* (4 vols.: Berkeley: University of California Press, 1909–1919), 3:5 (hereinafter cited as Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages").
56. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:143–153: A helpful study of Fages' expedition up to December 30, 1781, which much clarifies the itinerary of his marches, is Ronald L. Ives, ed., "Retracing the Route of the Fages Expedition of 1781," in *Arizona and the West*, 8 (Summer and Spring, 1966): 49–70, 157–170.
57. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:153–155; Fages to Croix, Sonóitac, October 31, 1781, enclosure in *Carpeta* 3; Croix to Gálvez, February 28, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 517.
58. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:155–157; documents cited in note 57 above.
59. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:157–159; documents cited in note 57 above.
60. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:159–161.
61. Fages to Croix, Sonóitac, October 31, 1781, enclosure in *Carpeta* 3; Noticia de los cautivos y cautivas que se hallaban en las rancherías del Río Colorado y fueron rescatadas el 18, 19 y 20 de Octubre del año 1781, signed by Pedro Fages and witnesses in Sonóitac, October 31, 1781, enclosure in *Carpeta* 3.
62. Junta de Guerra y Real Hacienda celebrada el día 15 de Noviembre de '81, enclosure in *Carpeta* 3; Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, February 28, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 517.
63. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:161; Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, February 28, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 517; Instructions to Fages and Neve, both dated Arispe, November 15, 1781, enclosures in *Carpeta* 3; Arias to Croix, Altar, February 10, 1782, in Río Colorado—Copia del Cuaderno No. 17 del expediente sobre nuevos establicimientos, an enclosure in Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, May 30, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 517. Hereinafter documents included in *Cuaderno* 17 will be so cited.
64. Croix to Fages, Arispe, October 16, 1781, enclosure in *Carpeta* 3; Fages to Croix, Sonóitac, December 20, 1781, enclosure in *Carpeta* 4.
65. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:161–165; Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, February 28, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 517.
66. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:165–190; Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, February 28, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 517.
67. *Ibid.*
68. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:190; Fages to Croix, Sonóitac, December 20, 1781, enclosure in *Carpeta* 5.
69. Three letters from Fages to Croix, Sonóitac, December 20, 1781, enclosures in *Carpeta* 5.
70. Croix to Arias, Arispe, January 6, 1782, enclosure in *Carpeta* 5; Arias to Croix, Altar, February 10, 1782, enclosure in *Cuaderno* 17.
71. Junta de Guerra y Real Hacienda celebrada el día 2 de Enero de '82, enclosure in *Carpeta* 5; Croix to Ugarte y Loyola, Arispe, January 3, 1782, enclosure in *Carpeta* 5; Croix to Ugarte y Loyola, Arispe, January 4, 1782, enclosure in *Carpeta* 5; Croix to Néve, Arispe, January 6, 1782, enclosure in *Carpeta* 5, and in CA, volume 22; Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, February 28, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 517.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Croix to Fages, Arispe, January 3, 1782, enclosure in *Carpeta* 5. Details of Fages' orders are also included in documents cited in note 71 above.
74. Fages originally planned to remain at Sonóitac while awaiting further orders from Croix. Severe cold in that area, however, prompted him to go southward to Mission El Pitic de Caborca, present-day Pitiquito. He left Sonóitac on December 20, and reached his destination on the thirtieth. See Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:191–193.
75. Barbastro to Croix, Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama, February 19, 1782, enclosure in *Cuaderno* 17; Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra*, 227.
76. Barbastro's questionnaire and Fages' replies are given in full in Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Franciscans in Arizona* (Harbor Springs, Michigan: Holy Childhood School, 1899), 212–215.
77. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:195.
78. *Ibid.*, 195–205. San Sebastían is present-day Harper's Well.
79. *Ibid.*, 205–211. San Carlos Pass is present-day Coyote Canyon.
80. For details of that march, see Herbert E. Bolton, "In the South

San Joaquin Ahead of Garcés," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 10 (September, 1931): 211–219.

81. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:211; Fages to Neve, San Gabriel, March 26, 1782, enclosure in *Cuaderno* 17; Neve to Croix, San Gabriel, March 28, 1782, enclosure in *Cuaderno* 17.

    In his above cited letter to Neve, Fages mentioned the high-water of the Colorado River at that time, which indicates he influenced Neve's course of action. Neve's orders from Croix did, in fact, authorize him to postpone the Colorado campaign until later in the year if he thought best, in which case the Santa Barbara Channel foundings could proceed. Croix to Neve, Arispe, January 6, 1782, enclosure in *Carpeta* 5, and in CA, volume 22.
82. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:211–213; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, 4:213.
83. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:213–223; Fages to Croix, Río Colorado, April 13, 1782, enclosure in *Cuaderno* 17; Roméu to Croix, Tinajas de la Candelaría, April 21, 1782, enclosure in *Cuaderno* 17.
84. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages, 3:223.
85. *Ibid.*, 223–229. For a detailed study of Fages' itinerary from San Sebastián to San Diego, see Hero Eugene Rensch, "Fages' Crossing of the Cuyamacas," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 34 (September, 1955):193–233.
86. Priestley, "Colorado River Diary of Fages," 3:231–233.
87. Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, 4:221.
88. *Ibid.*; Serra to Pangua, Mission San Carlos, July 17, 1782, in Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, 4:153; Serra to Lasuén, Mission San Carlos, July 20, 1782, in *ibid.*, 161.
89. Neve to Croix, San Gabriel, August 12, 1782, in CA, volume 22; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, 4:222.
90. Neve to Croix, no place or date, in CA, volume 22; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, 4:222.
91. Thomas, *Croix*, 36; Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, April 23, 1780, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 267.
92. Tueros to the king, Altar, May 22, 1780, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 267; Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, January 23, 1781, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 267; Gálvez to Croix, El Pardo, March 2, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 267; Gálvez to Croix, Aranjuez, April 15, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 267.
93. Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, December 30, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 267.
94. Thomas, *Croix*, 61–62; Navarro García, *Gálvez*, 361, 376–379; Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, October 7, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 282; Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, November 4, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 283.
95. Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, December 30, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 267.
96. Instrucción que da sobre gobierno interino de la peninsula, signed by Felipe de Neve, Saucillo . . . Santa Catalina, September 7, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 283, and in CA, volume 2.
97. Certificate of formal taking of possession of the government of the Californias by Lieutenant Colonel Don Pedro Fages, signed by José Velásquez, San Sebastián, September 10, 1782, in AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 283, and in CA, volume 22.
98. Bancroft, *California*, I:389; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, 4:224; Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, 2:332–333.
99. Accounts of the Fages' difficulties are in Bancroft, *California*, *I*: 391–393; and Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, 2:394–395.
100. Fages to the king, Monterey, September 25, 1787, in AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, legajo 1519; Flores to Valdés, Mexico City, August 23, 1788, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virrèyes, tomo 146 (Flores, May–August, 1788); Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, 1793, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 152A.
101. Revilla Gigedo to Valdés, Mexico City, May 27, 1790, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 157 (Revilla Gigedo, 1790).
102. *Ibid.*
103. Bancroft, *California*, I:482.
104. Francisco Hijosa to Revilla Gigedo, San Blas, November 3, 1791, in AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, legajo 479–108; Revilla Gigedo to Hijosa, Mexico City, November 21, 1791, in AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, legajo 478–59.
105. Fages to Roméu, Monterey, May 28, 1791, in CA, volume 6.
106. Fages to Revilla Gigedo, Mexico City, February 4, 1792, in Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Moderna, legajo 7046; Revilla Gigedo to Alange, Mexico City, March 31, 1792, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virrèyes, tomo 167 (Revilla Gigedo, 1792).
107. El Rey. . . . que . . . Don Pedro Fages qu fué de la provincia de California en Nueva España se le tenga preferente en las vacantes . . . asistendosele mientras tanto con el sueldo de su gradación, Palacio, July 12, 1792, in Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Moderna, legajo 7046.
108. Fages' report is in CA, volume 7.
109. Miguel Costansó wrote in late 1794 that Fages resided in Mexico City. See, Informe de Sor. D. Miguel Costansó al Emo Sor Virrey de Branciforte sobre el proyecto de fortificar los presidios de la N California, Mexico City, October, 1794, in Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California M-M 401.
110. Sobre que cobren al Fages 1434 pesos que debe a la habilitación del presidio de San Francisco, in AGN, Provincias Internas, tomo 5; El Habilitado general de Californias sobre cobre al Fages de un debito pertenesciente al presidio de San Diego, in AGN, Provincias Internas, tomo 8.
111. AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 152A.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

David R. Smith

Comics and Cels: The Walt Disney Archives

Business history has become increasingly important in recent years as historians realize that the activities of major corporations are often as significant as those of governmental agencies in influencing people's lives. Some corporations have had international impact. How many people in the world have not heard of a Ford automobile, a bottle of Coca-Cola, a Kodak camera, or—Mickey Mouse?

Walt Disney began his company in 1923 in Hollywood, and it was the first animation studio to be located there. Walt Disney Productions has grown in just over fifty years from a small company producing short cartoons for distribution to theaters to a widely diversified, multi-million dollar corporation involved in motion pictures, themed amusement parks, publications, recordings, merchandise, educational materials, and other ancillary activities within the general field of family entertainment.

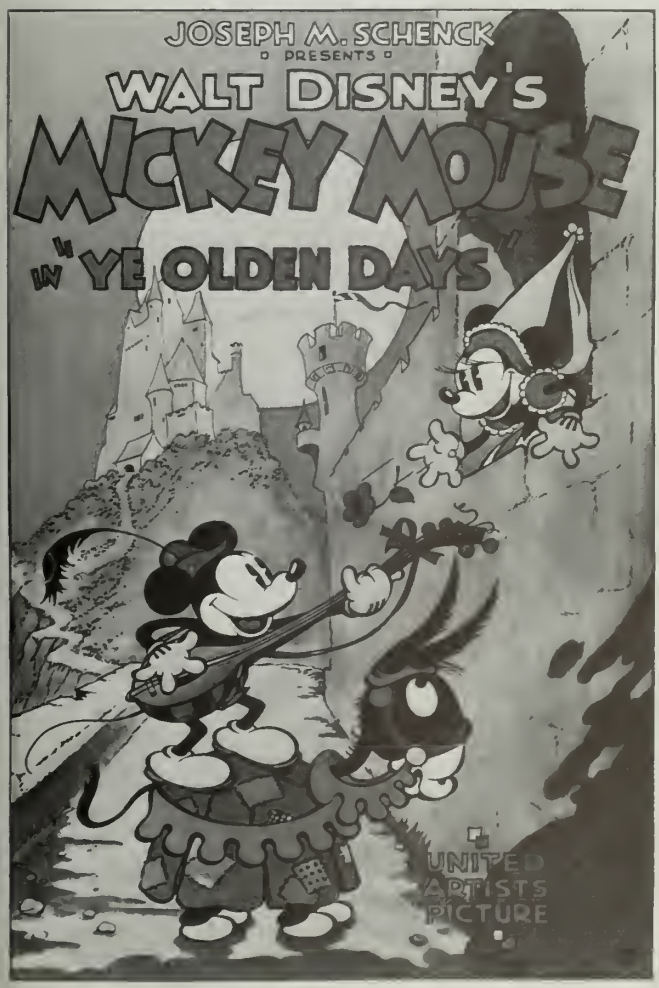
In 1970, the Disney family and the management of Walt Disney Productions made the decision to create the Walt Disney Archives to collect and preserve the history of Walt Disney and his entire organization and make it available to researchers both inside and outside the company. The Disney Archives was patterned after similar business archives that have been established over the past few decades. Family-founded and family-run corporations are frequently the first to set up archives, and such companies as Eli Lilly, Ford, DuPont, and Firestone are among the earliest. They often desire not only to preserve the records of the company but to honor and keep alive the memory of the founder.

The idea of a Walt Disney Archives grew from the interest expressed shortly after Mr. Disney's death in preserving his correspondence files, office furnishings, and memorabilia. Realizing that is would be impossible to divorce the man from the organization he founded, the company realized that a Walt Disney Archives

Mr. Smith is Archivist for Walt Disney Productions.



Walt Disney (front, far right) began his company in 1923, and by 1929 he had surrounded himself with a studio staff of nearly two dozen technicians.





Walt and Roy Disney in 1932 with the first of their thirteen Academy Awards.

Cartoon character Mickey Mouse appeared on the screen in 1928. This 1933 poster advertises one of 1,500 films in the Archives.

would have to be an archives not only of Walt Disney but of the entire Disney organization as well. It would cover the early years of the company, but it would also actively collect the records of the present as they are being generated. Only in this way could the story of what is "Disney" be adequately presented. Walt Disney himself once explained his philosophy to a young employee, "You see, I'm not Disney any more. I used to be Disney but now Disney is something we've built up in the public mind over the years. It stands for something, and you don't have to explain what it is to the public."

For several years after its establishment, the Walt Disney Archives operated out of anterooms in Walt Disney's office suite at the Disney Studio in Burbank. Then, after three years in small offices in the Studio's Casting Building, a move was made in the summer of 1976 into specially designed quarters in a new building. Now, with 8,500 square feet of space, the Archives has been able to bring its collections together in one place, to store them in an area with controlled temperature and humidity, and to make them more readily available to qualified researchers.

The collections of the Archives consist of three primary types of records—business, creative, and product.

The business records include the correspondence files of Walt Disney and his brother Roy and of key management figures and department heads. They include production, legal, licensing, and financial files (annual reports, proxy statements, prospectuses), and other materials dealing with the operation of Walt Disney Productions and its subsidiaries. Most of the business records, except for published reports, are not open to outside researchers except by special arrangement.

The creative records of the company encompass the materials for the planning and production of Disney films and for the designing and construction of the theme parks. For the animated films, there are story meeting notes, story sketches, animation drawings, layouts, backgrounds, cels, and cutting continuities. Practically all of the animation drawings have been saved from *Steamboat Willie*, the first Mickey Mouse cartoon in 1928, to the present. "Cels," painted celluloids used in the filming of the motion picture, have been sold through art galleries and at Disneyland, with only selected examples retained from each film. Scripts and cutting continuities are available for each live action film.

The products of the company are the most visible part of the Archives, and the part most often used by researchers. Within this category have been placed not only the marketable products but promotional materials and the resultant publicity and awards. Items within this category include:

1. *Films*—Disney films number over 1,500, with 23 animated features, 94 full-length live-action features, about 500 short cartoons and documentaries, and over 1,000 one-hour and half-hour television shows. While motion picture films are not stored physically in the Archives, but in specially-constructed film vaults, the Archives has access to them and insures that the company maintains prints of everything it has produced.

2. *Books*—Since the first Disney book in 1930, close to 1,000 titles have been published in this country. Almost exlusively, these are books written for children. With the exception of a few variant editions, the Archives has probably the only complete collection in existence. Thousands of foreign-language Disney books are included. Some are simply translations of English-language books, and others are written in the foreign countries using Disney characters and situations. Pre-war European books are especially rare.

3. *Comic books*—Early Disney comics are regarded as collectors' items today. The Archives has a complete collection but limits their use due to fragility and



In 1951 Walt Disney visited cel painters producing Alice in Wonderland.

high replacement cost. The collection of foreign Disney comic books and magazines, covering some 210 feet of shelf space and dating from 1932, is especially noteworthy and unique.

4. *Phonograph records*—Disney has been producing its own records on the Disneyland and Vista labels since the mid-1950's, and the Archives has a complete collection. Prior to this time, Disney songs appeared on such major labels as RCA Victor, Decca, Capitol, and Columbia. The Archives has a large number of these recordings, and listening facilities are available.

5. *Tape recordings*—Disney has released some commercial tapes, but the Archives also has tapes of interviews, speeches, meetings, and radio shows featuring Disney themes. Transcripts are available for most of the interviews, including many with Walt Disney himself.

6. *Awards*—Since 1931, Walt Disney and his company have received over 1,400 awards. Inventory control over the awards is kept by the Archives, and many of them, including 13 Oscars, are physically located there. These awards have been issued by all types of organizations and from all around the world.

7. *Promotional materials*—The Archives has a very substantial collection of Disney posters, lobby cards, pressbooks, campaign kits, and press releases. Many foreign language posters are included.

8. *Press clippings*—Disney has utilized a clipping service since 1924, and one can imagine the number of times Disney has been mentioned in a newspaper or magazine since that time! The clippings are filed in large scrapbooks by film title, or by subject and date in boxes. Included are extensive files of clippings on Disneyland and Walt Disney World. Major periodical articles are fully catalogued on cards. The clipping files comprise a unique research tool for the history of the Disney organization.

9. *Still photographs*—The Still Camera Department at the Studio houses over 500,000 negatives. The Archives surveyed these files to find the photographs of Walt Disney, which number over 8,000. Contact prints were made of each and they are available for research in the Archives. In addition, the Archives has the key still books formerly in the company's New York office, an office whose publicity function predated that at the Studio. This is a large collection, measuring some 119 feet of shelf space.



The new reading room of the Walt Disney Archives in Burbank.

10. *Insignia*—During World War II, Disney designed over 1,100 insignias for various military units. Photographs are available of all the insignias, along with the original correspondence requesting the designs.

11. *Character merchandise*—Since 1930, Disney has actively licensed the use of its characters to outside manufacturers and distributors. Out of this program have come thousands of different items made in the shape of a Disney character. A representative sampling of this merchandise is available in the Archives, with the emphasis of the collection being after 1950. Photographs, catalogues, contract files, and indexes help identify merchandise items not included in the collection.

12. *Employee publications*—Despite the ephemeral nature of most employee publications, the Archives has been able to pull together a fairly complete collection from the Studio, Disneyland, Walt Disney World, and other subsidiaries. These publications date from the early 1930's to the present and contain a wealth of information on the inside workings of the company.

13. *Audio-Animatronics*—In the early 1960's, Disney pioneered in the field of three-dimensional animation. The prototypes, dating back to 1951, which led up to the first Audio-Animatronic figures are maintained in the Archives.

14. *Props and costumes*—Notable props and costumes from Disney features and television productions are maintained for display purposes.

15. *Walt Disney memorabilia*—Extensive files are maintained on the Disney family, from family genealogy, office furnishings, and memorabilia, to gifts sent from admirers all over the world.

Facilities are provided in the Archives for qualified researchers. Application should be made to the Archivist, Walt Disney Archives, 500 South Buena Vista Street, Burbank, California 91521. Telephone (213) 845-3141.

Photographs are courtesy the Walt Disney Archives, Burbank.

ERRATA—Summer 1977 *Quarterly*

In Part I of John R. Thelin's "California and the Colleges," the nickname of Stanford's Cardinals was incorrectly identified as having an ornithological derivation. The term "Cardinal" refers only to color and comes from one of Stanford's oldest and most famous songs, "The Color of Life is Red."

Matt S. Meier, who reviewed *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940* in the Summer *Quarterly*, is Professor of History at California's Santa Clara University. He is co-author of *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans.*

In Memoriam

Death came swiftly to FATHER MAYNARD J. GEIGER, O.F.M., longtime archivist for Mission Santa Barbara, on Friday evening, May 13, 1977. The noted historian of California's mission era would have celebrated his fortieth anniversary as archivist on June 3. The Mass of Christian Burial was offered in the mission he loved and served so faithfully by His Eminence Timothy Cardinal Manning. Entombment was in the Friars' vaults at the mission.

Born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, August 24, 1901, the son of Joseph and Katherine (Kray) Geiger, he came as a youth to Los Angeles when his family moved there a dozen years later. Young Geiger enrolled in Holy Cross School and completed his secondary education at Loyola High School. In 1919 he entered St. Anthony's Preparatory Seminary in Santa Barbara as a clerical candidate for the Order of Friars Minor.

When he was invested with the Franciscan habit, July 15, 1923, he received the religious name of Maynard, which he used for the rest of his life, though his baptismal name, Joseph, was honored by its use as his middle initial in his signature. Upon completion of his philosophical studies at St. Elizabeth's in Oakland, he was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop John J. Cantwell on June 9, 1929, at Mission Santa Barbara. The following years were spent teaching at St. Anthony's Seminary. Between 1933 and 1937, Fr. Geiger took advanced courses in history at The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., where he received his Ph.D.

Geiger's first scholarly work, published in 1936, was an annotated translation of the *Relación de los Martires que han habido en las Provincas de la Florida*. Published as Volume 18 in *Franciscan Studies* under the title of *The Martyrs of Florida (1513–1616) by Luís Gerónimo de Oré, O.F.M.*, the book was revised and digested, and a new edition appeared a year later as *The Early Franciscans in Florida and Their Relation to Colonial Effort*. He then turned his attention to compiling a *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba, 1528-1841*. Published in 1940, the volume contained sketches of over 700 friars who had labored as missionaries in the two areas. In recognition of his singular contributions to Florida history, on February 4, 1948, the Cervantes Medal Award was bestowed by the Hispanic Institute of Florida.

June 3, 1937, marked the arrival of Fr. Geiger at Mission Santa Barbara as the newly appointed archivist. He was to serve almost forty years in that capacity. That record of dedicated service will be remembered by many professional historians and lay people alike, for he was ever ready to serve. It was his habit to answer all incoming inquiries in his mail the day they reached his desk. Each reply was written by hand in a clear and readable script.

As archivist, Fr. Geiger dreamed of a modern facility to house the archive of precious mission-era documents which had been accumulated at Mission Santa Barbara. That dream was realized, thanks to the hard work and generosity of friends and benefactors, when a new archive-library complex was formally dedicated on October 11, 1970.

During the years he presided over the archives, serving each researcher with patience and helpful assistance, answering each mail inquiry with dispatch, he continued to pursue his own research and writing. As a result, ten additional books were added to his personal bibliography. Most noteworthy stands his definitive two-volume biography of *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M., or The Man Who Never Turned Back* (Washington, D.C., 1959). Critical acclaims won him the prestigious John Gilmary Shea Award from the Catholic Historical Society and the Henry R. Wagner Award from the California Historical Society, which also made him a Fellow of the Society. The year previous the Cross of Isabella was awarded by the Spanish government for his interpreting, through writing and lecturing, the cultural contribution of Spain to the New World.

During the years spent in researching his life of Serra, Fr. Geiger held fellowships from the Del Amo and the John Simon Guggenheim Foundations. He also published an annotated translation of *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípera Serra*, (1955). At the same time, he served as editor for the *Provincial Annals*, contributing many important articles to its pages during his fifteen-year stewardship, 1938–1953, and regularly thereafter.

Having completed his work on Serra, Fr. Geiger turned his attention to Mission Santa Barbara's history. The result was two important works, *A Pictorial History of the Physical Development of Mission Santa Barbara from Brush Hut to Institutional Greatness* (1963) and *Mission Santa Barbara, 1782–1965*, a superb history of the famed mission.

Another major scholarly achievement was published by the Henry E. Huntington Library in 1969, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769–1848: A Biographical Dictionary*. This impressive work was hailed as "among the half-dozen most scholarly, useful and colorfully-presented volumes released to commemorate California's Bicentennial."

The last book to be authored by this prolific historian appeared in November, 1976. In collaboration with the distinguished anthropologist, Clement W. Meighan of the



Fr. Maynard J. Geiger at his desk in the Archive Library, Mission Santa Barbara

University of California, Los Angeles, *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by The Franciscan Missionaries, 1813–1815*, was published.

Not content with writing and publishing thirteen books, Fr. Geiger was a constant contributor to scholarly journals. His bibliography of articles numbers almost two hundred. He also wrote over a dozen pamphlets and brochures.

Up to his 70th birthday, Fr. Geiger accepted endless invitations to speak before numerous historical groups and meetings. Much in demand, he was a lively and entertaining speaker, compact in his presentation, but always with something worthwhile to say. His keen sense of humor enlivened each talk.

The late W. W. Robinson attested to Fr. Geiger's marvelous sense of humor. He wrote:

> Archivist, historian, author, and warm human being, Father Geiger enjoys nothing better than a bit of humor, even at his own expense. A favorite example is the story of the opening in beautiful quarters of Santa Barbara's expanding historical society. A newly named reporter of the *Santa Barbara News Press*, describing the event, stated that among the celebrities present on the occasion were the Rev. *and Mrs Maynard Geiger*. When Father Geiger showed up at another important affair not long after, some good friend—and wit—said to him, "Where is Mrs. Geiger?" The answer from Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., was "She's home darning my socks."

As his longtime friend and president of the Board of Trustees for Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, it became my sad task to clear his desk. In doing so, I found a portrait of the man clearly etched in the correspondence he had received in the past several weeks. The bulk of the letters were either appeals for research assistance on some puzzling historical question or letters of appreciation thanking Fr. Geiger for his help in answering some previously placed query. The letters came from Rome, Madrid, and from all over the United States. One touching letter was sent by high school students in Glasgow, Scotland, addressed to "Dear Sir or Madam," Santa Barbara Mission, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A., which the post office correctly redirected. They wanted "some pictures and information," along with answers to six specific questions. The letter was marked "answered." There was no carbon of Fr. Geiger's reply, for such was not his practice.

However, in reading the last volume of his personal diary, a diary begun in 1934 and maintained faithfully, even on the day of his death, I found this entry under the date of April 24:

> The first thing after breakfast was to write a long letter to a class of high school girls in Glasgow, Scotland, about Juana María, the Lone Woman of San Nicholas Island, reclaimed in 1853. They had read the fictionalized story in *The Blue Dolphin* and asked questions that could not be answered because [it was] fictionalized, so I sent them, besides the letter, a copy of my printed *Juana María*. Inquiring youth must not be disregarded so I was glad to give them my time & effort.

On his personal cards he had simply printed:

Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Ph.D.
Archivist-Historian

Let that be his epitaph. It is a fitting one, well earned, well deserved.

To those who wish to honor the memory of this distinguished Franciscan historian, contributions to The Friends of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library in his name will be used to establish an appropriate and fitting memorial tribute. Contributions are tax deductible and may be sent to The Old Mission, Santa Barbara, CA 93105.

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., *Professor*
University of Southern California

Book Reviews

Frémont: Explorer for a Restless Nation.

By Ferol Egan. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1977. xv, 582 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $14.95.)

Reviewed by W. Turrentine Jackson, *Professor of History at University of California, Davis, and author of many articles and books in the area of western history.*

The abiding interest in the life of John Charles Frémont, with all its elements of a Greek tragedy, will never end. Ferol Egan has captured the essence of his career in a single phrase, "The Peaks of Glory and Valleys of Despair." Moreover, John and Jessie Frémont's years together have every element of an All-American love story: the child of questionable birth, the lad of ability and ambition, the chance meeting with a beautiful lass born of influential parents, the call of destiny that meant long absences from home, the faithful wife waiting at home, glorious but brief reunions, public acclaim and adulation of the entire nation for a brilliant, youthful, and handsome couple, joy at the birth of children, the shared sorrow of their death, filial respect and affection, the inevitable price to be paid for misjudgments, wealth and poverty, injustice, even persecution, but throughout it all, abiding love and loyalty.

Perhaps the first question that will be asked is, "Why another life of Frémont?" Aspects of his role in history have been discussed and analyzed by a long line of scholars and writers. Those seeking information have found it in works by J. S. Hittell, Hubert Howe Bancroft, and Josiah Royce, and in the more recent studies of G. W. James, F. S. Dellenbaugh, E. A. Wiltsee, G. Tays, Cardinal Goodwin, Allan Nevins thrice, and a host of lesser-known writers. The publishers provide a justification in two words: this is a *new* and *full* biography, the first in twenty years.

Egan recognizes the emphasis of his work in the sub-title, "Explorer for a Restless Nation." With detailed information carefully mined from all the available sources, he masterfully explains Frémont's apprenticeship in reconnaissance work under Joseph Nicholas Nicollet, the first expedition to the South Pass and beyond that fired Frémont's imagination, and his second expedition into the Pacific Northwest with the return through Oregon east of the Cascades and the detour into California. Although Frémont was not a "pathfinder," and really never claimed to be, leaving this assignment to his carefully selected guides, the leadership that he displayed in crossing the Sierra in the winter of 1842-43 was perhaps his finest hour. The third expedition proved more important for its political impact than for the scientific knowledge obtained because of Frémont's entanglement in the Bear Flag Revolt. Largely as a result of his involvement in California affairs on the second and third expeditions, Frémont emerged as an explorer-hero in the eyes of the nation, while the army considered his behavior as grounds for court-martial. In an attempt to reestablish his image and self-esteem, Frémont undertook two additional expeditions partially to prove that a railroad could be constructed directly west of St. Louis between the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth parallels. The first of these endeavors ended in stark tragedy in the snow fields of the San Juan Mountains of southwestern Colorado and the second in near-disaster in the wastelands of southern Utah. Throughout these explorations Frémont proved he was a leader of men in the unchartered wilderness, effectively working with such famous mountain men and guides as Kit Carson, Broken Hand Fitzpatrick, Alexis Godey, and Joseph Walker, and with cartographers like Charles Preuss and Edward Kern, both of whom were more objective and at times even critical of his conduct. In totality, Frémont came to symbolize the hopes and ambitions of a nation bent on expansion to the Pacific. Time is an important factor in history, and Frémont was the right man in the right place at the right time.

Other aspects of Frémont's life—the purchase and management of his Mariposa estate, his role as senator from California, his candidacy for the presidency of the United States as the first Republican aspirant, his assignment as the military commander of Missouri in the Civil War and the premature decision to free the slaves there prior to Lincoln's national proclamation, the political maneuvering for his removal, the financial disaster in railroad promotion, the Arizona territorial governorship, and the final years in genteel poverty are given the briefest, but accurate, treatment.

Ferol Egan has maintained a remarkable objectivity, avoiding the trap befalling many biographers who identify and sympathize with their subject. When Frémont was asked to remove his men from California by the Mexican authorities, his attitude is described by such words as "haughty," "tactless," and "insulting." He is criticized for permitting attacks on Klamath Indians and on guiltless Californians as "barbaric, cruel beyond belief," "without any semblance of sanity."

These are only illustrative of many occasions where Egan notes lapses of good judgment, indecision, and irresponsibility by Frémont. If bias creeps in, it is in his presentation of the court-martial trial. It is not a case of being pro-Frémont, but anti-Stephen Watts Kearny, who is pictured as an embittered, vindictive, senile senior officer who used the prestige of his rank to humble a junior officer, a man with no redeeming grace.

There are several mistakes of detail that the editors should have eliminated. For example, the opening statement of the book leaves the inference, if not a stated fact, that the transcontinental railroad runs through the South Pass, which it does not. Washington Irving did publish an account of Benjamin Bonneville's 1833 expedition, but certainly he was not one of "three journal keepers in the party." However, misstatements of this type appear in most books and are only brief distraction here.

Few contemporary western writers possess both the patience and the skill to combine scholarly methodology and apparatus with effective, readable prose that characterize the work of Ferol Egan. This massive volume can best be described as a monumental contribution. Authoritative, organized to sustain reader interest, and beautifully written, this book is a worthy contender for the highest awards the state and nation can bestow upon an author.

Greene & Greene: Architecture as a Fine Art.

By Randell L. Makinson, with an introduction by Reyner Banham and photographs by Marvin Rand. (Salt Lake City and Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1977. 285 pp. Illustrations, index, bibliography. $24.95.)

Reviewed by David Gebhard, *Professor of Architecture at University of California, Santa Barbara, and co-author with Robert Winter of* A Guide to Architecture in Los Angeles and Southern California (*1977*).

The urbanization and especially the suburbanization of California over the past one hundred years has drawn forth an impressive array of architectural talent, ranging from the exotic and extravagant nineteenth-century cottages and houses of Samuel and Joseph Cather Newsom to the contemporary vertical shed-roof boxes of Charles W. Moore. In addition to its wholesale exportation of the dream of Arcadia realized, California has also exported such popular products as the 1900 California bungalow, the post-World War II California ranch house, and most recently the vertical shed-roofed box. Both at home and in the exported product, the mixture of low and high art has always been remarkable in California, and nowhere is this more apparent than in the episode of the California bungalow. The lowly builder's version of the woodsy California bungalow produced one of the most beautiful "machines for living" which the United States has ever experienced. And at the same time the California bungalow reached the apex of high-art architecture, especially in the buildings of the Pasadena brothers, Charles and Henry Greene. During the years 1907 through 1909 these two designers created a group of buildings which one suspects will always occupy a major place in the history of American architecture.

During the years 1900 through 1915 the architecture of the Greenes was widely recognized and appreciated. In the decades of the 1920's through the 1940's their work was to a considerable degree forgotten, but in the early 1950's, with the popularity of the woodsy California ranch house, their work along with that of the Bay Area architect Bernard Maybeck was rediscovered. The first extensive presentation of their architecture occurred in Randall Makinson's chapter on the Greenes in Esther McCoy's *Five California Architects* (New York, 1961). Since then other essays, guides, and picture books have appeared, and while several of these have added to our knowledge and appreciation of the Greenes, they have not taken the story much beyond Randall Makinson's 1961 presentation. Makinson himself published a brief, highly useful guide, *A Guide to the Work of Greene and Greene* in 1974 (Salt Lake City and Santa Barbara). In the same year Janann Strand published *A Greene and Greene Guide* (Pasadena) which, in addition to the listing of buildings and a short text about each of the buildings, provides the reader (or the guidebook user) with a short, sensitive introductory essay. The catalogue, written and illustrated by the photographs of William R. and Karen Current, *Greene and Greene: Architects in the California Residential Style* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1974), is adequate as a catalogue for an exhibition, but nothing more.

Now Randall Makinson has produced the volume for which we have long been hoping, a detailed, well-



Greene and Greene's Gamble House, a Pasadena landmark from 1908

documented history of the architecture of Charles and Henry Greene. In six chapters he closely traces the two brothers from their childhood and formative years up to their worldwide recognition in the 1950's and 1960's. Numerous built and unbuilt projects are discussed and illustrated—many of which have remained unknown until the publication of this volume. This is especially true of many of their wide variety of early designs (from 1893 through 1903) and of their later, post-1910 work. The author's text is supplemented with revealing new photographs by the Los Angeles architectural photographer Marvin Rand and by numerous older photographs, original sketches, and working drawings. A closely packed five-page bibliography makes it possible for the reader to search out and to sample the writings of the Greenes themselves, or to see how various moments in history have responded to their work.

The English architectural historian, Reyner Banham, has contributed one of his usual beautifully written and provocative essays as an introduction. Banham's insistence that the work of the Greenes, and of the American arts and crafts tradition in general, died because American liberalism came to an end c. 1910–1915 is a tantalizing historic construct, but one which quickly collapses under even superficial scrutiny. To hinge a set of socio-political-economic beliefs in with a set architectural construct mode is to skate on thin ice. For a historian to suggest that individuals who believed in middle-class liberalism conceived of the art-and-crafts product as an appropriate form of imagery is feasible, but for the historian to go on and assert that this connection was factually true is another matter. The best way to experience the Greenes is to read Randall Makinson's text, look at Marvin Rand's photographs (or if at all possible, visit the buildings), and then read Robert Winter's introduction to *California Design, 1910* (Pasadena, 1974) to see how the Greenes' work fitted into the Arroyo Culture of Southern California.

The Julie Morgan Architectural History Project.

Edited by Suzanna Riess. (Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, 1976. Volume 1: 408 pp., $45. Volume 2: 301 pp., $32.)

Reviewed by Sara Holmes Boutelle, *founder of the Julia Morgan Association, Santa Cruz. She is compiling a catalogue raisonné of Morgan's work.*

"My buildings speak for me. Architecture is a visual not a verbal art." So goes one of Julia Morgan's rare pronouncements about architecture, as cited by her colleague Walter Steilberg. History has shown, however, that purely visual records can be bypassed, can fall into perilous neglect, and can be subject to the vagaries of educated and popular taste. Lack of knowledge about Morgan (1872–1957) and her work is compounded by the fact that she had her records destroyed when she closed her San Francisco office after a half-century

of practice. Morgan also consistently refused to grant interviews or to permit articles to be written about her. A natural reticence, the general aversion to publicity in the milieu from which she came, and her particular distaste for the "talking architect" combined to leave us buildings, not words, from Julia Morgan.

Just as scholars were losing hope about bringing this California architect to her rightful place in history, the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library has issued two volumes of transcribed taped interviews on Morgan with illustrative insets which are not only invaluable source materials for architectural historians, but also provide fascinating documentary evidence of the unique character of oral history as a primary tool in historical research. The interviews with the architect's colleagues, clients, and relatives reveal the richness and diversity as well as the quirkiness and contradictions in people's memories. Perhaps especially for a figure as little known as Julia Morgan, it is valuable to hear the voices from many sides and to share the perceptions of those who knew her. Contrapuntal observations by fellow-workers and relatives manage to create a harmonious character and to reveal a set of working habits and standards which tell us more than do many autobiographies. The concept of centering on Morgan's office and on one special house gives Volume II an immediacy and cohesiveness that is lacking in Volume I where Steilberg, the Berkeley architect-engineer who had known Julia Morgan longer and in more situations than anyone alive at the time, is the central figure, just as his article in the November, 1918, issue of *Architect and Engineer* is the major written source for Morgan's early work. The urgency and pricelessness of these interviews are poignantly emphasized by the accidental death of Steilberg, as well as the loss of Ed Hussey, another architect who worked with Morgan over the years, within the period of the compiling of this oral history. Our understanding of Julia Morgan's working style is enriched by genial and witty talks with Dean Emeritus Warren C. Perry and colleagues Dorothy Wormser Coblentz, Bjarne Dahl, and Polly Lawrence McNaught, while nephew Morgan North and his wife Flora give us three interviews, a privilege hitherto denied most researchers.

Editor Suzanne Riess deserves full marks for planning and carrying through this project, which will be a base for interpretation and further investigation both for scholars and for laymen interested in California architecture. Thanks to the Bancroft's Regional Oral History Office, new voices have been added to those of Julia Morgan's buildings.

Blacks in the West.

By W. Sherman Savage. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977. xv, 231 pp. Bibliography, index. $14.95.)

Reviewed by Lenwood G. Davis, *Assistant Professor, Black Studies Department, Ohio State University, Columbus.*

This book differs from two previous studies—William Loren Katz's *The Black West* and Kenneth W. Porter's *The Negro on the American Frontier*—in that it deals only with the West and excludes the story of Blacks in the slave states. The author's reasons for excluding slave-state Blacks were that few western Blacks came from that region because there were no staple crops grown there and that the West was far removed from the center of the Black population. This thesis is open for debate, because the author later argues that, "the westward movement of Blacks is best seen as a part of the westward movement in America. The Black population was largest in the states where the general population was largest,



A racially integrated team of miners works a sluice box at Spanish Flat, Eldorado County, in 1852.

indicating that the same factors which attracted the general population attracted Blacks." There are two shortcomings to this argument. First, the author deals with the years 1830–1890, when most Blacks were slaves and not freedmen. Hence, they could not migrate West. Second, Blacks that were freedmen did not live in the states that had the largest Black population; most of them were in the North, and they were usually skilled craftsmen that would not be attracted to labor work in the West.

This study included the following states: Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, California, Oregon, and Washington. While the writer does a good job in discussing Blacks in most of the western states, he only gives cursory study to the Pacific Northwest and particularly Oregon and Washington. No doubt the inavailability of in-depth materials may have been the reason why the author did not devote more attention to that area. For useful sources he could have read my article, "Sources for the History of Blacks in Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (September, 1972), as well as *Blacks in the State of Oregon*, 1788–1974 (Council of Planning Librarians [CPL], 1974); *Blacks in the Pacific Northwest: 1788–1974* (CPL, 1975); *Blacks in Utah* (CPL, 1974); and *Blacks in the American West* (CPL, 1974).

Professor Savage discusses slavery in the West and points out that while it was legally prohibited, there were still slaves there, and many of the problems which faced slaves in other states manifested themselves in the West as well. The role of Blacks in the military is also discussed in this study. Savage shows that following the Civil War, it was as members of the military that many Blacks first played an important part in the work of developing the West. After their enlistment was over, many of them stayed on in the new land and worked in various western industries including the fur trade, mining, cattle, and agriculture. Blacks also engaged in a number of businesses, professions, and occupations—barbers, hotel owners, carpenters, hostlers, saloon owners, race-track owners, livery-stable proprietors, longshoremen, blacksmiths, ministers, newspaper owners, etc.

Blacks in the West also includes chapters on "The Fight for Civil Rights," "Politics," "Education," and "Social Life." Despite its shortcomings, this study has aided greatly to our understanding of Black people's contributions to the development of the American West. This work is well-organized, easy to read, and has a summary at the end of each chapter. It contains an appendix, an excellent bibliography, and an index. This study, however, is only a survey of Blacks in the West and should be used in that light. It is the hope of this reviewer that others will continue Dr. Savage's important project. Each state in the West should have its individual state Black history.

Contentious Consul: A Biography of John Coffin Jones.

By Ross H. Gast. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1976. 212 pp. Illustrations, index. $10.00.)

Reviewed by Richard Dillon, *Sutro Librarian and author of the forthcoming biography of Oliver Hazard Perry,* We Have Met the Enemy.

John Coffin Jones was but a minor figure in California history, but of considerable importance to the story of our sister-state to the westward. He not only was a pioneer of the Hawaii-California trade, in association with William Heath Davis, Sr., and others, but also America's first commercial agent—virtual US Consul—to the Kingdom of Hawaii. The author, rightly, devotes most of his account to Jones's activities in the Sandwich Islands.

Jones was a feisty, combative, fellow, a wenching egotist who was a firm believer in gunboat diplomacy and was always urging Washington to "show the flag" in the Pacific to keep Great Britain and Russia at bay. In the Islands, he was the self-appointed head of the commercial community and, thus, usually at loggerheads with Rev. Hiram Bingham and the American Calvinist missionaries who dominated a series of weak kings. British Consul General Richard Charlton was a rival of Jones, though the latter somehow became involved with the former in a shocking incident of punishment of a Hawaiian who shot the Consul General's milch cow after too many gardenpatch raids. The Englishman roped the "*kanaka*" and dragged him behind his horse. Jones alienated Hawaiian royalty with his involvement in this brutal action and by his slandering of Princess Nahi'ena'ena as an adulteress. (Actually, it was true; the princess incestuously married her brother, the King, Kauikeaouli.)

Finally in disfavor at home as well as in Honolulu, Jones was dismissed for neglect of his duties in 1839, after eighteen

years as quasi-consul. He sailed to Santa Barbara where he entered the hide and tallow trade, financed a little sea-otter hunting, and married Manuela Carrillo. In 1846 he left California for New England, never to return. But he kept up his Coast interests by litigating over a livestock investment on Santa Rosa Island in the Santa Barbara Channel.

Jones was a colorful and cantankerous character. But this is not a very colorful life sketch. It is a brief, informative, and documented biography; an introduction to the gent, not a definitive study. For example, few of Jones's (surely-interesting) letters are quoted; almost all are paraphrased. But for a first view of an interesting, if somewhat unappealing, pioneer of *Hawaii nei* and California, both, this is a welcome effort.

Anglo Over Bracero: A History of the Mexican Worker in the United States from Roosevelt to Nixon.

By Peter N. Kirstein. (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1977. v, 112 pp. $9.00.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor for the* Quarterly.

For several years, R and E Research Associates in San Francisco has been providing a valuable service for scholars by printing a wide variety of materials dealing with ethnic and immigrant experiences in the West. Sometimes these publications are reprints of dissertations, but R and E also publishes studies in their original form. Usually, the works are designed for specialists in the field rather than a general audience. Publication by R and E allows research which otherwise might be unknown or unavailable to scholars to be widely distributed to libraries throughout the nation.

Peter Kirstein's *Anglo Over Bracero* is a typical R and E publication. It is a critical account of the workings of the official US-Mexican Bracero program during the war and immediate post-war years. Kirstein's study will not replace Richard Craig's *The Bracero Program* or Ernesto Galarza's *Merchants of Labor* as standards in this field, but Craig does uncover new documents and provide the reader with valuable insights.

Kirstein contends that "American importation of Mexican labor was not necessary to satisfy domestic labor requirements except during the Second World War." He blames apparent shortages of agricultural labor in the post-war years on "horrendous working conditions, incredibly low wages, and a determined agribusiness conspiracy to keep the native worker off the farm." The book provides evidence to support these generalizations; indeed, there is some indication that even war-time shortages were as much a product of low wages and poor conditions as of a real lack of manpower.

Kirstein covers the efforts of the Mexican government to protect Braceros from discrimination in the United States and provides a good discussion of the way in which the growing presence of illegal "wetbacks" effected the administration of the Bracero program. On the other hand, the book does not provide an adequate historical background, and the account of the Bracero program's decline and demise in the 1960's is woefully incomplete. Kirstein does not deliver on his title's commitment to carry the story up to the Nixon years. Since the research was conducted at the National Archives and the Harry S. Truman Library, the book emphasizes policy-making in Washington and gives little sense of the life and experience of the Mexican worker in the fields.

Kirstein, then, has not written *the* definitive study of the Bracero program, but he has made a useful scholarly contribution, and R and E should be commended for publishing this work.

With Nature's Children: Emma B. Freeman (1880–1928), Camera and Brush.

By Peter E. Palmquist. (Eureka: Interface California Corporation, 1976. 134 pp. Illustrations. $9.95.)

Reviewed by Laverne Mau Dicker, *Assistant Curator of Photographs, California Historical Society.*

In the early 1900's, photography—inspired by the Impressionist painters and the pre-Raphaelite poets—was undergoing a period of hazy romanticism. The pictorialist photographers perceived the world in a soft, blurred manner not unlike today's Baggie-over-the-lens school of portraiture. One of the foremost California pictorialists, Emma B. Free-





Emma Freeman's romantic portraits of Native Americans from Northern California

man, was best known for her highly idealized photo-paintings of Northern California Indians: pastel sunsets and doe-eyed women calling to mind Jeannette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy warbling the "Indian Love Call." Although the artistic merits of her work could be treated and dismissed in one paragraph, her life story, as told in *With Nature's Children*, is fascinating.

Paradoxically, this creator of saccharine scenes was a tough, ambitious woman who knew what she wanted and pursued her goals relentlessly, often stepping on more toes than Andrew Young in the process. Born on a Nebraska farm in 1880, Emma Richart's early dream was to be an artist and live in San Francisco. She realized this dream in 1903, having meanwhile worked as a shopgirl in Denver and acquired a husband, Edwin Freeman. Soon after their arrival in San Francisco, the Freemans opened a small shop on the corner of Octavia and Union streets, selling stationery, art supplies, and Emma's handcrafted novelties. Emma enrolled in art classes at the Post Street academy of Guiseppe Cadenasso, a noted landscape painter, and began to develop her unique style.

The Freeman's store was destroyed in the earthquake and fire of 1906, and they subsequently moved to Eureka in Humboldt County, where Emma's climb to fame and notoriety began. Eureka at the time was a cultural wasteland, a small town which had well-defined ideas as to what traits were desirable in a woman. Emma, with her forthright manner and overriding need to achieve, did not fit the mold.

However, as with everything that she did, she threw herself into the role of town eccentric with enthusiasm. When she and Edwin started the Freeman Art Company, Emma managed the store and began to experiment with commercial photography, both of which were considered highly inappropriate occupations for a woman. She surrounded herself with unconventional, Bohemian people, many of them Indians who served as her photographic models. In 1913 Richard Yates, the handsome ex-governor of Illinois, arrived in Eureka for a speaking engagement, and when he left, Emma went with him, thus embroiling herself in a spectacular scandal that shook the town and eventually led to her divorce. ("My Dear Edwin," she wrote nonchalantly from San Francisco, "I am . . . simply having the time of my life and have enjoyed every mile of my trip. . . . It is rather embarrassing to be without a suitcase, but it bothered the hotel clerk more than it did me. . . .")

Even *sans* Edwin, Emma's career flourished. She earned the title of "official government photographer" for her excellent coverage of marine disasters, and her Indian portraits were exhibited in California's pavilion at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Such personalities as William Jennings Bryan, James Rolph, and Jack and Charmian London sat for their portraits in her studio, and Emma often worked sixteen hours a day to meet the demand. Despite her success, however, her story ended tragically, with bankruptcy and early death.

Although Emma B. Freeman's Indian portraits (comprehensively catalogued in *With Nature's Children*) are only of academic interest to all but those with a high tolerance for sweetness and light, her biography is worth taking the time to read. Peter Palmquist, using newspaper accounts and the recollections of Freeman's old friend, Bertha Stevens Chamley, has pieced together an intriguing history of a strong, determined artist and her reverse-fairytale progression from rags to riches, back to rags.

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California Checklist

Gary Kurutz, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1976-77) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

Axon, Gordon V. *The California Gold Rush.* New York: Mason and Charter, 1976. 136 pp. Illustrations.

Bear, Dorothy and Beth Stebbins. *Mendocino: Book Two.* 80 pp. Authors, Box 922, Mendocino 95460. $6.00.

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Biggs, Donald C. *Conquer and Colonize: Stevenson's Regiment and California.* San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1977. Illustrations. Publisher, P.O. Box 3515, San Rafael 94902. $12.95.

Blackford, Mansel C. *The Politics of Business in California, 1890-1920.* Columbus: Ohio State University, 1977. 221 pp. $12.50.

Bokahel, Charles A. *The Indians of Contra Costa County, California: The Yokuts and Costanoan Indians.* 40 pp. Photographs and diagrams. Author, P.O. Box 817. Antioch 94509. $2.50.

Brock, John M., Junior (compiler). *An Illustrated History of Kern County.* Kern County Historical Society, 1976. 83 pp. Illustrations.

Butler, Phyllis F. *Valley of Santa Clara: Historic Buildings, 1792-1920.* San Jose: Junior League of San Jose, Inc. Photographs, drawings, maps. Publisher, 1010 Ruff Street, San Jose 95110. $12.95, plus $1.00.

Calhoun, F. D. *49er Irish: One Irish Family in the California Mines.* Exposition Press, Inc. Publisher, 900 South Oyster Bay Road, Hicksville 11801. $8.50, plus 75¢.

Cardwell, Kenneth. *Bernard Maybeck: Artisan, Architect, Artist.* Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 300 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, 1877 E. Gentile Street, Layton 84041. $24.95.

Carpenter, Aurelius O. *A History of Mendocino County.* Reprint of 1914 edition. Mendocino: Pacific Rim Research, 1977. 144 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 526, Mendocino 95460. $3.95.

Cerveri, Doris. *Nevada, A Colorful Past.* Author, 1264 Patrick Avenue, Reno 89509. $4.95 plus 75¢.

Cerveri, Doris (editor). *Nevada Historical Mexcellany.* 80 pp. Illustrations. Author, 1264 Patrick Avenue, Reno 89509. $5.00 plus 50¢.

Churchill, Charles William. *Fortunes Are For the Few: Letters of a Forty-Niner.* Edited by Duane A. Smith and David J. Weber. San Diego Historical Society, 1977. Publisher, P.O. Box 81825, San Diego 92138. $12.50 plus 75¢ and tax.

Cleaveland, Norman. *Colfax County's Chronic Murder Mystery.* Santa Fe: The Tydal Press, 1977. 11 pp. Portraits.

Cohen, Stan. *The Streets Were Paved with Gold: A Pictorial History of the Klondike Gold Rush, 1896-1899.* Missoula, Montana: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company. 192 pp. Photographs and Maps. Publisher, 713 South 3rd, W. Missoula, 59801.

Crain, Jim. *Historic Country Inns of California.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1977. 205 pp. Illustrations.

Davis, Leonard M. *Georgetown, Pride of the Mountains.* Roseville: Georgetown Divide Rotary Club, 1976. 128 pp. Illustrations.

Del Davis Associates, Inc. *Rancho Olompali: Park Resource Analysis.* San Rafael, 1976. 30 pp. Marin County Parks and Recreation Department. $2.00.

Farris, William M. *The 1847 Crossing of Imperial County, California, and Baja California, Mexico, by the U.S. Mormon Battalion.* Occasional Paper No. 2. El Centro: Imperial Valley College Museum Society. Maps and Illustrations. Publisher, 442 Main Street, El Centro 92243. $2.50.

Fireman, Janet. *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands, 1764-1815.* Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 251 pp. Publisher, Box 230, Glendale 91209. $16.95.

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Gardner, David. *Suscol in Napa County: An Historic Report, 1835-1977.* State of California, Department of Transportation, 1977. 16 pp. Photographs. Publisher, P.O. Box 3366, Rincon Annex, San Francisco, 94119.

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Matson, Daniel S. and Bernard L. Fontana. *Reports to the Kings.* Translated and edited by Friar Bringas. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977. 177 pp. $6.50.

Medley, Steven and Henry Berrey. *Yosemite Nature Notes.* Vol. 46, No. 2. Yosemite Natural History Association, 1977. 80 pp. Publisher, Box 545, Yosemite National Park, 95389. $3.25.

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Neall, James. *A Down-Easter in the Far West.* Edited by Martin Schmitt and K. Keith Richard. Ashland, Oregon: The Oregon Book Society, 1977. 150 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, P.O. Box 1210, Ashland 97520.

Palmer, John Williamson. *Pioneer Days in San Francisco.* Olympic Valley: Outbooks, 32 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, Box 2006, Olympic Valley 95730.

Parkinson, Mary Jane. *The Kellogg Arabian Ranch: The First Fifty Years.* El Cajon: HHR Publications, 1975. Over 500 pp. Photographs. Publisher, P.O. Box 1510, El Cajon 92022. $23.50 plus $1.50 and tax.

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Robinson, H. M. *The Remarkable Activities of the Gentlemen Adventurers of the Great Hudson's Bay Company During the Years 1670-1879.* Ashland, Oregon: The Oregon Book Society, 1977. 60 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 1210, Ashland 97520.

Ross, Frederick G. *The Actor from Point Arena: Excerpts Taken from the "Memories of an Old Theatrical Man."* Edited with commentary by Travis Bogard. Berkeley: Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1977. 38 pp. Illustrations.

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Sherman, Frederick Barreda. *From the Guadalquivir to the Golden Gate.* Mill Valley: Hall and Smith Company, 1977. 399 pp. Author, 166 Elinor Avenue, Mill Valley 94941.

Silverman, Harold I. *A Booklover's Guide to San Francisco.* San Francisco: Examiner Special Projects, 1977. 32 pp. Photographs.

Sinnott, James. *Sierra Valley, Jewel of the Sierras.* Volcano, California. Illustrations. $14.00.

Street-Hiveley, Emma A. *The Patriarch of the Valley: Day to Day Living in Early Sonoma County.* 124 pp. Illustrations. Beverly Hiveley, 1812 Fairway, Calistoga 94515. $7.95.

Torre, Susana. *Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective.* New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977. 224 pp. Illustrations. $25.00.

Turnbull, Jay (editor). Heritage's *Directory 77.* San Francisco: The Foundation for San Francisco's Architectural Heritage, 1977. Publisher, 2007 Franklin Street, San Francisco 94109. $4.00 plus 50¢.

Westways. *Cumulative Index, 1960-1972.* Los Angeles: Westways. Publisher, P.O. Box 54494, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles 90054.



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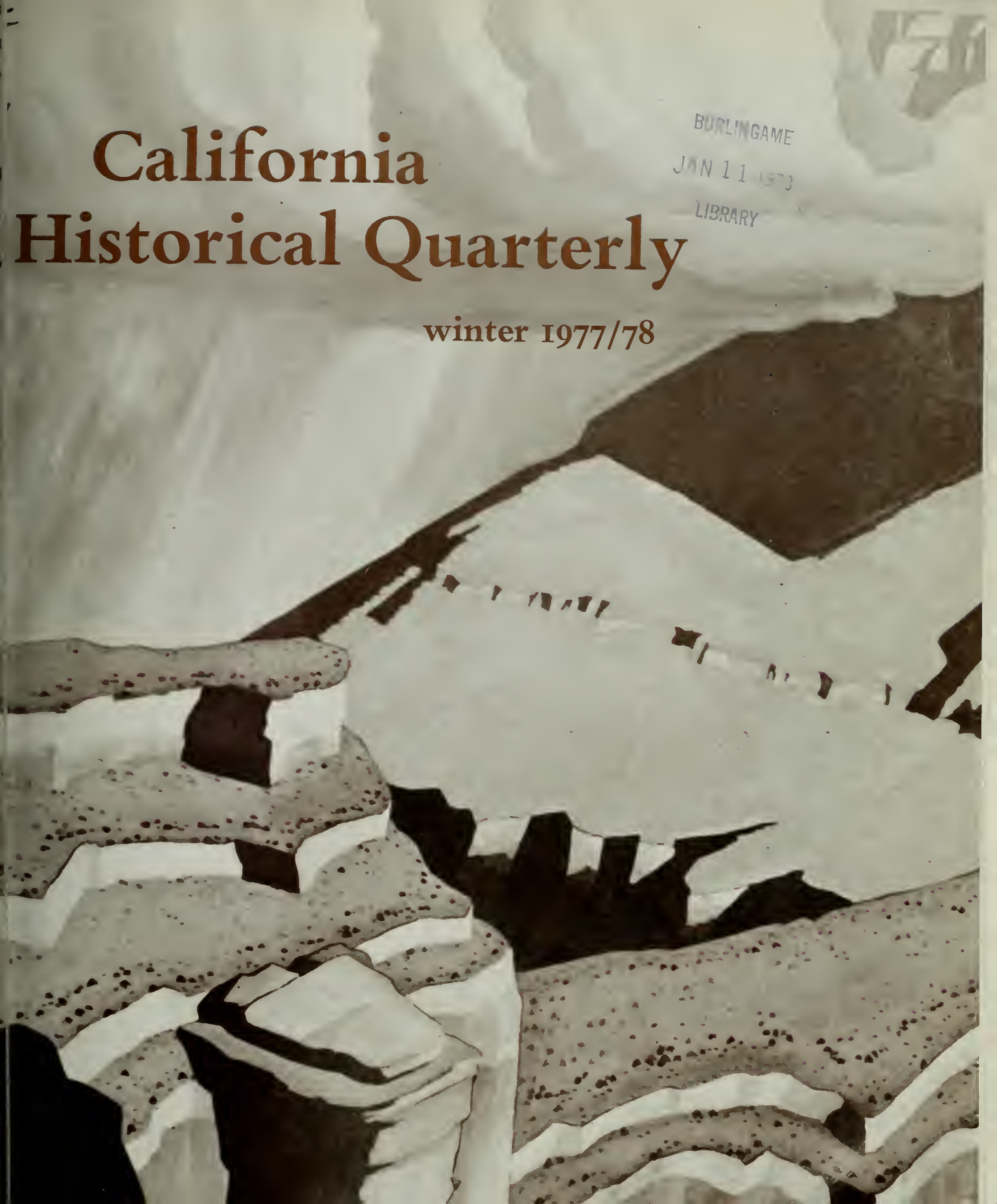
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COVER

Artist Maynard Dixon isolated the visual expanses and planes of the Grand Canyon for this mural at the Los Angeles ticket office of the Santa Fe Railroad. Painted in 1946 with the assistance of his wife Edith Hamlin and associates, it was the final work in a prolific career that began in California and ended in the desert Southwest. The article beginning on page 290 focuses on the relationship of Dixon's little-known poetry to his paintings and murals.

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Kevin Starr

PAINTERLY POET,

Readers of the California Historical Society's recently published *Rim-Rock and Sage: The Collected Poems of Maynard Dixon with Drawings* have a treat—and a surprise in store. Lafayette Maynard Dixon (1875–1946), one of the finest painters ever to make a career in the American West, turns out also to have been a very competent and sometimes superb poet: an impassioned, honest, verbally adroit versifier, whose poetry, carried on privately and often at periods of great emotional stress, now comes before the public some eighty-one years after he composed his first poem, "January," a haiku-like evocation of a quiet mountain winter landscape.

In and of themselves, Dixon's poems are worthwhile. They record the fifty-year intellectual, imaginative, and emotional adventure of a major artist. They take us from the luxuriance of *fin de siècle* San Francisco to the chromatic austerity of the desert Southwest. They crackle with the give-and-take of social and aesthetic debate. They soar with mystical lyricism. They seethe with sensuous yearning; explore the darker, despairing sides of Dixon's mind; suggest moments of repose and spiritual peace. Set in counterpoint with Dixon's tumultuous, struggling life, moreover, and in dialogue with his pictorial art, Dixon's poems say something about the nature of poetry itself: how, that is, poetry can be a useful, almost everyday affair, a way of sorting out concepts, dealing with stress, or rescuing a special moment from the oblivion of time. Maynard Dixon wrote poetry for the same reason he painted pictures. He had to. He was an artist possessed by an inner vision that demanded the externalized expression of words on paper or paint on canvas.

The artist's poems—164 in number and only recently assembled from widely scattered sources by Edith Hamlin, the artist's widow—are doubly precious because Lafayette Maynard Dixon was not an easy man to know. There was an aloofness, an essential reserve, to his personality—an incipiently sardonic detachment, if you will, masking the passionate, raging life within. Born in Fresno of Confederate stock, Maynard Dixon grew up a lonely boy with poor health, in a family sensitive to social caste. His father, Harry St. John Dixon, son of a Mississippi plantation owner, acquitted himself nobly in the Confederate cavalry during the War between the States, lost everything during Reconstruction, then migrated to the San Joaquin Valley in central California to begin a new life as a lawyer-rancher. Maynard Dixon's maternal grandfather, Lafayette Maynard, resigned his naval commission in 1848 when his ship docked at San Francisco in protest to what he felt was an unjust war against Mexico, then settled in the city as a venture capitalist and social leader of San Francisco's fashionable southern set. In Fresno young Maynard's father took the lead in local political and civic affairs (until a nervous breakdown overcame him). When he organized the Veterans of the Blue and Gray and marched with them down Fresno's main thoroughfare, young Maynard led the way as drummer-boy. He was a frail, somewhat high-strung, boy, asthmatic, but he knew what he wanted.

Dixon began drawing at the age of seven. As a young

Dr. Starr is a columnist for the *San Francisco Examiner* and author of *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915*, and Adjunct Professor of English at the University of Santa Clara.

A shorter version of this article first appeared as the introductory essay to the recent CHS publication, *Rim-Rock and Sage: The Collected Poems of Maynard Dixon with Drawings* (1977).

POETIC PAINTER

the dual art of Maynard Dixon

teenager he studied the illustrations in *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and *Art Journal*, developing a quick, direct sketching style of his own. At sixteen, he sent a portfolio of his work to the great western illustrator, Frederic Remington, who responded with warm encouragement and wrote Dixon that he sketched better than Remington had at a comparable age. Dixon quit school soon thereafter, preferring to develop in his own way. This pattern of inner-directed independence, in matters of both life and art, would be a lifelong characteristic. "So live," Maynard Dixon would be saying by 1896, "that you can look every damn man in the eye and tell him to go to hell."

Dixon, of course, was protesting too much. His inner life, as revealed in many of his poems, was never so unambiguously assertive. At a number of times in his life he came near to collapse. His father, after all, had shattered completely in 1891 and spent his last years as a mental invalid. Like another great Californian, the philosopher Josiah Royce, Maynard Dixon inherited a certain tenuity of nerves. He kept them under control in the long run, making them serve his creativity, but now and then, in times of great stress, they threatened his stability. In 1917, for instance, he himself admitted that he almost became insane. Dixon's first wife, the artist Lillian West Tobey, had by 1915 or so sunk into dipsomania. Dixon himself was hopelessly in love with the New York playwright Sophie Treadwell (much of his early erotic poetry was inspired by this affair). Torn between his love for Sophie Treadwell and his sense of obligation to his troublesome, alcoholic wife, the mother of his beloved daughter Constance, Dixon sunk further and further into gloom. On one desperate occasion when he urged his wife to enter a hospital, she tried to shoot



Independent and inner-directed, the young artist posed in 1895 wearing the cowboy garb that he knew from his boyhood.

Returning to California, Dixon exhibited at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition and sold several of his first paintings including Corral Dust.

and storing up in his imagination thousands of colorful images of the culture that had given birth to California and the Southwest. Something of a bohemian himself, he affected an intersection of the cowboyish and the urbane in his dress (a suit and a tie, but also a Stetson, riding boots, and, hanging from his belt on a watch fob, a hammered metal thunderbird—which he also used with his signature on his canvases). Dixon joined the Bohemian Club of San Francisco in 1902, where he hobnobbed with the likes of London, Norris, and such fellow artists as Martinez (whom he loved), William Keith (whose work he disliked, feeling that Keith's overly romantic Barbizon landscapes held western painting enthralled), Virgil Williams, Porter Garnett, Ernest Peixotto, and Charles Rollo Peters.



Mountain Man, *a 1912 sketch for a magazine illustration.*

In 1905 Dixon held an exhibition at the Bohemian Club, his first show. Former San Francisco Mayor James Duval Phelan, a Bohemian, had the distinction (later a distinction, but at the time an act of discernment and encouragement) of being the first person ever to buy a Maynard Dixon painting, *Thunderheads*. Dixon also exhibited that year at the San Francisco Art Association in the Mark Hopkins mansion atop Nob Hill and at the Palace Hotel.

Although the outdoor West, especially the Southwest, together with the Indian, proved Maynard Dixon's enduring themes, he was for some forty years a San Francisco-based artist. The early poem, "World's End" (1896) expresses Dixon's ambivalent relationship to the city which would hold him one way or another until 1939. "I am a city's wan unwilling guest," Dixon reflects, "Would I might wander where the great Southwest lies throbbing with the pulses of the sun. . . ." In both life and art, he got his wish.

But not before he served a period of exile. A collapsing brick chimney missed Dixon by inches in the earthquake of April 18, 1906, and fire destroyed his studio. Dixon was barely able to carry away some sketches (much of his work was lost) and a few Navajo blankets. He tried to make a new start but got nowhere. Like others—Kathleen Norris, the Irwin brothers, even George Sterling for a time—Dixon headed for New York, provisioned with $500 and a set of cross-country tickets paid for by his first mural commission for the Southern Pacific Railway's Tucson office.

Dixon never had any trouble surviving as a commercial artist in New York. *Century*, *Scribner's*, *McClure's*, *Munsey's*—the magazines bought his work, illustrations, in the main for western adventure stories. By 1907 he could afford his own studio in the Lincoln Arcade at 1947 Broadway. He did not, however, relish his New York life. He made money (he was, after all, one of the best illustrators in a golden age of magazine illustration), but it pained him to foster a romanticized, commercial-

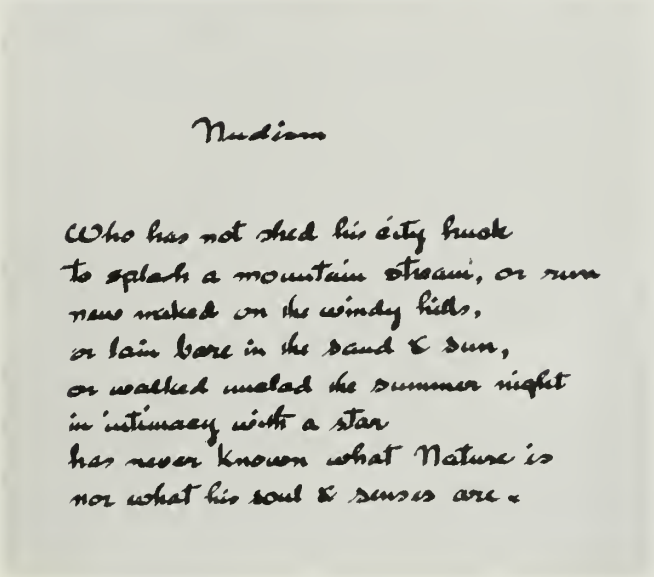


ized image of western life and to be subservient to a potboiler storyline. His wife Lillian, furthermore, was beginning to show signs of ill health and alcoholic problems. The Dixons left New York for Yonkers, Yonkers for Vermont, and Vermont for Connecticut in desperate search of a place where Lillian, with their young daughter Constance, could find peace and health. Finally, Dixon decided to return to California.

"As a painter," Maynard Dixon would later say, "I date from 1912." That was the year Mrs. Anita Baldwin McClaughry, daughter of E. J. "Lucky" Baldwin of the Rancho Santa Anita nestled against the oak-covered San Gabriel foothills, commissioned Dixon to paint a series of murals in her new mansion at Sierra Madre near Pasadena. Dixon produced a series of Indian subjects—*Victory Song*, *Envoys of Peace*, *The Pool*, *Ghost Eagle*,—which won rave reviews from the Los Angeles *Times*, national art magazines, and most important, Mrs. McClaughry herself, who voluntarily increased Dixon's commission from $8,000 to $10,000. Encouraged, Dixon broke permanently from New York, returned to San Francisco (he moved into the Osborne House at the corner of Lombard and Hyde, where Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson had stayed), and began painting on his own. Between 1912 and 1919 he produced more than one-hundred and thirty canvases, eighty of which he sold. In 1915, a dark and horrible period in his private life, he nonetheless exhibited fifty-one paintings at the Bohemian Club and won a bronze medal at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition before retreating to his studio in a state of physical and emotional collapse.

For all his aloofness, his stance of cussed independence, Maynard Dixon needed people. Three women—the unnamed model of 1917; his second wife, the photographer Dorothea Lange whom he married in 1920; and his third wife and surviving widow, artist Edith Hamlin—pulled him through periods of physical and psycho-

Self-exiled to New York and soon a successful illustrator, Dixon expressed his homesickness for the West in poems such as "Nudism" (1910).



Nudism

Who has not shed his city husk
to splash a mountain stream, or run
naw naked on the windy hills,
or lain bare in the sand & sun,
or walked nuded the summer night
in intimacy with a star
has never known what Nature is
nor what his soul & senses are.

logical devastation. Charles Fletcher Lummis, editor of *Land of Sunshine* and southwesterner-extraordinary, gave Dixon his first public recognition in the December, 1898, issue of his magazine, and the two men kept up a twenty-year correspondence. Dixon produced decorative metal work for El Alisal, Lummis' superb Spanish hacienda on the Arroyo Seco outside Pasadena, where Dixon and his first wife were married. "Pop Lummis," Dixon later said, "was in effect my foster father over those years. Lummis gave me new confidence in my ideals of truthfulness in my work, and fortitude in facing the commercial world." Sell drawings, Lummis advised, but don't sell yourself. And above all else, he admonished, keep "writing good honest verse, as an aid to your pictorial art." "You are really about as much a poet as an artist," Lummis observed, "and that is one reason your pictures are the fine things they are. It will do you good not merely to get them *off* your mind, but *through* your mind. Every poem you write is a help to a picture you are to paint."

What Charles Fletcher Lummis suggested some seventy years ago is one of the major delights of this volume: the discovery that in the unfolding of Dixon's painterly talent, poetry led the way. Had Dixon considered himself a professional poet and published these poems as he wrote them, among his contemporaries only Robinson Jeffers and the still-to-be discovered David Starr Jordan, founding president of Leland Stanford Junior University, would have outstripped him in poetic power and skill. This, obviously, reflects the dearth of great California poets through the 1920's, but it also suggests the range, competence, and vigor of Dixon's verse. Long before he found his vocation or his style as a painter, Maynard Dixon, a lover of the poetry of Walt Whitman, found a bold, sane, independent poetic voice.

The autobiographical inspiration behind these poems is constant. As a closet poet, Dixon wrote primarily as a diarist, in search of private order, lament, or celebration. Sex, aesthetics, the Southwest, the constant drama in his storm-tossed soul—Dixon poured his life into these poems. Love-making he frequently celebrates with an incandescent eroticism, at once gentle and fierce. "I know/thy naked body, trembling-passionate," he exults in "Metamorphosis," a poem both sensuous and subtly spiritual, light-years away in frankness and excellence from anything comparable being written or published in California in 1903. "One Little Hour" is explicit and tender ("What glory mounts to meet me as I lean/ Yearning above you?"). "Delirium" is detailed and eager ("Ah, cling 'round my waist/As you quiver at touch of the life that I give you"). "You Only" holds the tormented poignancy of sexual loss ("Never mind how sweet her body may be,/She is not you—oh, no she could never be you!").

Dixon struggled into middle age before he achieved stability of vocation, and his poems reflect both the torment and the resolution of that artistic odyssey. The early poem "Asi, El Mundo" (c. 1910) contains the powerful image of a city-bound toiler faced by a stranger



Dixon in 1925, fifty years old with unanswered questions and great canvases yet to be painted.

with a saddled horse ("Now I am riding away/between hills where the rain-shadows run,/into the eye of the sun,/out of the edge of the day")—certainly a compelling fantasy for the New York-trapped Dixon who dreamed of freedom in the West. "Toward Beauty" shows Dixon in the first flush of exultation after commencing his full-time artistic career. In "An Arrow to the Sun" an aged Indian thanks the sun for accepting a delayed, second sacrifice—the objectification of Dixon's own gratitude over getting started as a painter in his early forties, overdue, but, like the Indian's arrow shot to the sun, keeping to its flight. "Work is the only answer," Dixon once said—a sentiment expressed in "Visionary," one of his most powerful poems and a pithy, laconic credo of artistic purpose written in 1923 in the midst of a period of extraordinary accomplishment and creativity.

For Dixon, poetry was a way of prefigurement, even prophecy, as well as a means of autobiographical statement. Many of his poems anticipate themes and moods later realized more fully in his paintings. This volume begins with "January," an 1896 effort exuding an ambiance of patterned stillness and repose which characterizes Dixon's most mature graphic work. Another early poem, "Gloaming" (c. 1903), has the same Zen-like stillness. "Pueblo De Los Muertos" is in itself a perfectly realized poem-picture which anticipates by some two decades the simple, flat, direct style Dixon eventually came to favor when depicting Indians graphically. "Here is the World" reflects perfectly the bold, unadorned style of Dixon's mature mode. The color-scheme of "The Sweat-Lodge" (1917) runs three years ahead of the astonishing blues and greens of *The Pony Boy* (1920), the first masterpiece of Dixon's high period. By then the gap between Dixon's accomplishment as a poet and a painter had narrowed, then converged. *The Pony Boy* is better art than any poem Dixon ever wrote. By age forty-five, the painter in Dixon had outstripped the poet, but they had competed for nearly twenty-five years. The poem "Shaman's Song" (1919), for instance, anticipates by thirteen years *Earth Knower* (1932), now in the Oakland Museum (and, I feel, Dixon's single greatest painting), but *Earth Knower* is a masterpiece by anyone's standards, while "Shaman's Song" is but a very good poem. Perhaps the most pleasing and skillful of these poems of preparatory aesthetic adventure and debate is "Toward Beauty," a poem of crystalline statement.

Until the last years of his life, Dixon based himself in San Francisco, but his heart, and imagination, and the constant subject of his brush and poems were in the American Southwest. From 1900 to 1946 Dixon made innumerable trips into the desert and high country of the old Spanish territories, the land of little rain. Charles Fletcher Lummis helped sponsor his first expedition in 1900, Dixon having saved $1000 of his hard-earned

Dixon's 1925 masterpiece Cloud World,
a supernatural and ghostly landscape.

Examiner wages. A trip to the Southwest, Lummis advised Dixon, would alleviate Dixon's nervous strain and help him focus his developing talent. Lummis introduced Dixon to the Indians of Isleta Pueblo in New Mexico, and Head-man Juan Rey Abeita took in Dixon and Lummis for several weeks. Seeing the Indians going about their daily lives, reverberating to the drama of desert color and the cloud-architecture of the sky, Dixon found his life's work as a painter—or at least the subject of his life's work, for it would be twelve years or so before he devoted himself full time to his art. He also visited Arizona in 1902, stopping at Ganado with Indian trader J. L. Hubbell, who lived like an old Spanish hidalgo surrounded by Navajo retainers. During this trip Dixon stayed for the first time with the Hopi and the Navajo, the noble people, Homeric in dignity, who would fill hundreds of his canvases in various guises and attitudes: craftsman, shaman, shepherd, weaver, warrior, worshipper—captured in superb color rivaling that of the desert itself and presented in the bold, direct technique of Dixon's mature style.

My Country

O love the grim gaunt edges of the rocks,
the great bare backbone of the Earth,
rough brows & heaved-up shoulders,
round ribs & knees of the world's skeleton
protruded in lonely places;
where from ledges of sun-silenced cliffs
the wild war eagle dips valiant
blue ecstacies of air
to the delicate deep fringes of the pines;
the long-returning curves of solid hills
that bend the wind along the dappled sky;
or far-drawn leads of red mesa-lands,
receding infinitely, step on step on step . . .
and grandeur of all grandeurs, over all
the high commanding glory of the sun!

"My Country," a 1922 poem prefiguring the images of Dixon's southwestern landscape paintings.

But these images were still in the future. As usual, poetry led the way. Three early poems—"La Canción Mexicana" (1900), "Desert Camp" (c. 1913), and "The Grand Canyon" (1915)—are special milestones on the road to Dixon's southwesternness. The first poem vibrates with the romance of Old Mexico and her northern territories. "Desert Camp" shows the luxuriant Southwest ("the Southland of roses, in languorous midnight") giving way to something more severe and ultimately more compelling—the spiritual or ghostly Southwest ("the secret thoughts of the earth and their meaning") that haunts a hundred Dixon canvases, the Southwest of Indian religion, tribal magic, and the Spirit of the Arroyo. "The Grand Canyon" is a great, big old-fashioned meditation on the permanence of nature and the transitoriness of human effort. It shows Dixon in the year 1915 at just that point of awareness—and poetic skill—as another Californian brooding on a similar theme, Robinson Jeffers.

In 1923 Dixon and his second wife Dorothea Lange, who loved the Southwest as much as he, made a sojourn into Navajo and Hopi country as the guest of Anita Baldwin McClaughry, the Santa Anita heiress who had given Dixon his first important commission. Mrs. McClaughry set up a lavish camp at Walpi, and for several weeks she and her guests studied Indian culture, especially Indian music. Impressed by this experience, Dixon returned on his own for a four-months stay at Tavopchamo, a Hopi settlement. His rheumatism became so severe, however, that he was forced to spend many hours on a blanket on the floor of his adobe, and a Hopi snake priest, Lomá Hinma, attempted to cure Dixon by rubbing his body with sacred herbs and chanting prayers to the sun. Dixon's pain eased, and he painted furiously, feeling among these dignified, traditional people a sense of timeless kinship, as if he had come



closer to some inner reality at the core of outward appearances, intuiting the central insights of the Hopi religion, becoming one of them, a brother. Toward the end of that year, Dixon was privileged to witness the sacred Fire Dance of the Navajos, held in a secret place in the Luka Chukai mountains.

Many poems issued from these experiences in the Southwest—"The Ancient Well," "Little Katchina," and "Navajo Song," among others. Two of them—"My Country" and "Sun-Land"—are almost lyric in their intensity, but also simple and direct, like a great Dixon painting; and, again like a great Dixon painting, they are strong with imagery of earth, sun, and far horizon. The far horizon, in fact, dominates both Dixon's poetry and painting—a sense of distance approaching infinitude suggested by a bold horizontal skyline. As a boy, Maynard Dixon looked out onto the vast, treeless plains of the San Joaquin Valley, hazily delineated in the far distance by the blue, white, purple, and gold of the Sierra Nevada. This landscape composition, this great horizontal, must have riveted itself into his imagination, for he returned to it again and again in his art. The poems "My Country," "The Plains," "Sandhill Camp," "Evening," and "Another Day" all celebrate this typically Dixonesque earth configuration, "so far beyond the unanswering rim of the world," in assertive verse.

This landscape, this skyscape is alive for Dixon—not pantheistically alive, but vital nevertheless with unseen, mystical energy. Brought up by free-thinking parents, Maynard Dixon was by background skeptical in matters religious. He did, however, experience an interest in spiritualism and Christian Science during the period of intense personal anguish and confusion that followed the breakdown of his first marriage. He ultimately returned to a sort of reverent agnosticism, remaining attracted, however, to the spiritualism of Indian religion. This sustained interest evidences itself in the sensuous, dreamy mysticism of the painting *Allegory* and the prophetic grandeur of his great masterpiece in oil, *Earth Knower*, whose blanketed Indian priest, poised like an ancient prophet against a Pythagorean landscape of rhythmic mesas, peers off into the very heart of Being itself.

Many of Dixon's poems are animated by a sensuous, diffuse mysticism, Platonic in feeling—a state, if you will, of incipient religiosity before the grandeur of creation. The poems written between 1910 and 1918 are especially notable in this regard. In the poem "Thoughts," Dixon



Admiring the Indians' spiritual unity with the land, Dixon painted the mysterious Earth Knower *(1931–35), a high point in his series of canvases with Indian subjects.*

"Old Chief" (1936) laments the plight of the American Indian, the physical and spiritual victim, as Dixon saw it, of encroaching technology and mass society.

How should you not look grim, old chief?
How long, how well have you outlasted hunger?
how many days outlived starvation? —
how long, how many ways endured
the white man's inhumanities? —
& how serenely shamed despair?
Turned toward darkness, unmoved, untemified,
how long have you faced down the fear of death?
What power flows to you from the dim abyss
of old belief receding beyond arched miracles
of rainbow
where dwell the Ancients & veiled mystery
of the Trues?

Dec. 1936

finds his mind reaching out to some "immeasurable heaven." "Here and Beyond" and the very ambitious "The Mystery" show Dixon sensing the reality behind appearances—"The Dream-Light, that draws to the edge of the world where it merges with infinite shadow." "Dawn" explores an immemorial mystery of theology —whether or not the deity is personal—a question Dixon seems to resolve in favor of impersonality, for, as he says, "The blank blind eye of God stares down, aloof/And silent on this speck of murmuring dust." Like his fellow poet George Sterling, Maynard Dixon used the sun, the moon, and the stars for themselves and as natural symbols of transcendence, and astral, lunar, and solar imagery permeates many poems written during the period of his religious experimentation. "Before Dawn," in fact, finished on March 3, 1914, is cosmic in sweep, rivaling any similar effort by a Californian poet before the Second World War. Its materials are thoroughly western, its purposes profoundly mythic, and its last few lines ("Shall see a solemn eagle soaring, soaring") perfectly grand. "Twilight" suggests the presence of soul or spirit at the time of "holy twilight." In "The Message" Dixon asks: "Is it not God that so entunes our hearts/To hear the silence of our true desire?"—a motif repeated in "Hill-Song." "The Dreamers" is an explicit prayer, begging God's forgiveness for not heeding the vision that "runs/Beyond the peaks, across the world" and "bears us back to Thee." Dated Mill Valley, October 24, 1918, Dixon's "Answer" celebrates the *logos*, the Word, in creation. "Regeneration," another Mill Valley poem (Dixon was there to recuperate from illness), discerns in the solacing, healing sunlight an "emanation of spirit"—"a manifestation of God." By the 1930's, however, Dixon had become more skeptical, less immediately vulnerable to the spirit-music of the outdoors. The poem "I Am God—Almost" wittily manages to have it both ways: to deflate natural mysticism through humor, but also paradoxically to reaffirm the quest for spirit in both the microcosm and the macrocosm.

Maynard Dixon loved clouds because they embodied this tantalizing presence of the ghostly, the supernal, in natural creation. Watching the moonlit clouds from his Russian Hill apartment in San Francisco, Dixon received the central illumination underlying his mature style. Pattern, line, mass, rhythm, space division—it all came to him in a flash of intuition: how he could condense, simplify, indeed, empty out, his canvases in order to attain both psychological force and a conviction of spirit. (Again—I refer to *Earth Knower* as the triumph of this vision and method.) This was in 1920, and the canvases that followed—*The Pony Boy*, *The Witch of Sikyatki*, *The Grim Wall*, *The Ancients*, *The Golden Range*—all show the galvanizing effects of Dixon's cloud-watch atop a city hill. The painting *Cloud World* (1925)—one of Dixon's masterpieces—fills five-sixths of its canvas with a cubist-realist architecture of clouds rising from the distant mesa like a soaring cathedral. Two minute horsemen brave the middle-horizon, as if proceeding in liturgical procession. Never has Dixon made the Southwest seem so empty—or so full. He dreamed of such clouds as early as the poem "A Pillar of Clouds" (1903); he saw them again in New York ("towering, tumultuous and vast") when he feared he had lost the West forever. He gave these clouds, these quasi-angelic presences, the permanence of poetry and paint.

The Southwest over which Dixon's clouds soared was, to Dixon's way of thinking, an endangered place, and a good number of the poems in this collection take as their theme the vanishing West. Growing up in the '70's and '80's, Maynard Dixon knew the simple, unadorned West of a working central California ranch. The old Spanish-Mexican ways yet obtained in Monterey and rural Southern California when he visited there in the early '90's. With the romantic or Wild West, the Buffalo Bill, Wild Bill Hickok West, Dixon never felt at home. "My object," he told *Sunset* magazine in January, 1921, "has always been to get as close to the real

Home of the Desert Rat (*1946*),
one of Dixon's last cubist, sun-shadow-and-cloud compositions.

thing as possible—people, animals, country. The melodramatic Wild West is not for me the big possibility. The more lasting qualities are in the quiet and more broadly human aspects of western life. I am to interpret for the most part the poetry and pathos of life of western people seen amid the grandeur, sternness, and loneliness of their country." Many of Dixon's early field sketches concern themselves with daily ranch life—bronco-busting, branding, trailside cooking, mending fences, stringing wire. His friend, writer Eugene Manlove Rhodes, himself a one time working cowboy in New Mexico (and another protégé of Charles Fletcher Lummis), reinforced Dixon's sense of the West as direct and unadorned. Both he and Rhodes shared a New York exile—the two of them finding that only a sensationalized, shoot-em-up West sold east of the Hudson. (In gratitude, Dixon named his first son after Rhodes.) All in all, even in his most active period as a landscapist, Maynard Dixon avoided grand landscape for its own sake. He pursued something more stark and elemental; something that avoided the easy comfort of the romantic Barbizon, or the dreamy impressionism of so many of his fellow Californian painters, or even, in the 1930's, the shock-value of extreme expressionism. Maynard Dixon was after a simple kind of truth—the way the West looked to those who lived there.

Self-instructed as an artist (with the exception of three months at the San Francisco Art Institute), Dixon never liked schools. "Mental independence," he believed, "is of utmost importance and necessity to the artist. To be real he must be honest, keep his own integrity. He must beware of schools, cults, dogmas, isms; must learn from all and give obedience to none." In 1891 Frederic Remington had given Dixon some very direct advice: "Draw—draw—draw—and always from nature." If Dixon had any dogma, it was the dogma of natural, unforced responsiveness. "Study the things that interest you, that awaken your imagination," he believed, "and Nature will keep you sound." His savings dissipated by expenses incurred in his first wife's illness, Dixon never got a chance to study in Europe. He made a virtue of necessity, feeling that the United States—in his case, San Francisco and the American Southwest—contained within itself the themes, materials, and social conditions conducive to high creativity in painting, provided only that American artists work hard at their calling, stimulated, but not intimidated, by European achievement. As an aspiring illustrator, Dixon was strongly influenced by the lightning-direct sketches of the German magazines *Jugend* and *Simplicissimus*, which encouraged his own parallel development of a no-nonsense style that got right to the point.

The covers Dixon did for *Sunset* magazine between 1904 and 1906 show his sketching style on the way toward something more ambitious. Color—the superb Dixon palette of southwestern color—makes its appearance in these *Sunset* covers: the carmine red of an Apache horseman's shirt and headdress, played off against the cinnamon-brown of the mesa he crosses at sunset, the whole composition half-lost in purple shadows; the royal blue of a Hopi tunic; the yellow of a flowering honeysuckle; the sunburnt gold of a young prospector's beard, jutting out against a horizon suggested by one bold black stroke. Color came naturally to Dixon, and the vividness of Jules Guerin's dramatic use of color in the buildings of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 in San Francisco only reinforced Dixon's innate tastes for an assertive Californian, southwestern palette. *Trading Post*, done the year of the exposition, is flooded in sunlight suggestions of yellow and gold. *The Pony Boy*, the first great work of his mature style, has a robin's-egg-blue sky that only a poet could see. It meets a grassy-green horizon, contrasting marvelously with the bronze skin of the Indian herdsman. *The Golden Range* (1923) dazzles the eye with its array of sun-drenched color.

From 1916 to 1921 Dixon worked for Foster and Kleiser, a San Francisco-based advertising firm, design-



ing billboards and posters for outdoor use. A delay on Dixon's road to full-time painting, the experience nevertheless left him with a sense of drama that caught and riveted one's attention through an implied storyline. The best of Dixon's paintings are in motion. Like good advertising, in fact, they tell a story. Dixon's billboard experience also sharpened his ability to handle the abstract elements of painting—mass, rhythm, space relationships—all essentials to good billboard art. Dixon's *Witch of Sikyatki* (1924) shows how easily good billboard art can lead to even better painting. Who knows what mischief the barebreasted, sexually attractive young witch is brewing as she confers with three Indian men? The witch's eyes slyly take in their responses, a mixture of attraction suppressed by caution and skepticism. Some marvelous story-in-the-telling leaps from this painting, as if already half-told by a Hopi elder, sitting by the campfire underneath the Arizona stars.

So able to tell a story, Dixon painted magnificent murals, especially during the decade 1920–1930. He liked murals because he thought that they brought art to the public in the most direct way possible—into banks,

hotels, schools, post offices, ticket offices, railroad stations, theaters, and libraries, in all of which places Dixon painted murals. The Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915, he claimed, first alerted him to the mass-appeal good art might enjoy through the mural medium. Dixon kept his murals uncrowded and pointed toward an apparent storyline. The wall itself, he felt, in balanced groups and spacings, should form an integral part of the composition. In murals also his love of California history found full expression—the driving of a herd of palomino ponies by a Spanish-Californian vaquero, the entrance of Captain John Charles Frémont into California, the pageant of California that comprises the murals he did for the Room of the Dons of San Francisco's Mark Hopkins Hotel.

Seeking to portray the West the way it was experienced by westerners, Dixon could not, however, avoid interpretation—as a westerner himself, a painter, or a poet. Most obviously, Dixon, along with an entire generation of westerners—Frederick Jackson Turner, the historian; Owen Wister, the novelist; Frederic Remington, the illustrator; Theodore Roosevelt, the president; and so many, many others—lamented the passing of the frontier. By the late 1910's, Dixon felt, the Southwest showed signs of its impending conquest by "Henry Ford, the movies, dude ranches, and show business." He exaggerated, of course, but a sense of imminent loss no doubt stimulated his art—his effort, that is, to put the Southwest on record before it vanished completely. The poem "Old Cow Town" (c. 1910) laments —rather unconvincingly I'm afraid—the good old days. More convincing is "Death of a Man" (c. 1917–1918). Two poems dealing with heavier-than-air flight, "Fair Aeroplane" (c. 1913) and "The Air-Scout" (1917), deal directly and forcefully with the theme underlying Maynard Dixon's concern for the Southwest—the impending conquest and reification of the West by technology.

Against these forces—mass society, technology, the unhealthy self-absorption of the modernist temperament —stood the Indian, another central image in Dixon's art. Again like an entire generation—D. H. Lawrence, Oliver La Farge, Mary Austin, among others—Maynard Dixon found in the Southwest Indian, especially the Hopi and Navajo, the antitype of, and the antidote for, the soul-sickness of hyper-selfconscious modernism. The Indian, Dixon believed, lived and moved and had his being in an older, better way of knowledge and behavior. He felt sympathy for them; as a boy he had witnessed a surviving remnant band of Mono Indians as they wandered pathetically from site to site in the Kaweah Range east of Fresno in search of acorns and small game. But he also respected them, particularly the Hopi and the Navajo, who continued to preserve their dignity and their ancient ways. Dixon collected Indian artifacts—pottery, blankets, weapons. When they were burglarized from his Montgomery Street studio in San Francisco, the plundering of his twenty-year collection broke his heart. "No white man can equal the authentic work of the primitive artist," Dixon believed. "No less than in his drawings, his pottery, weaving, and sand paintings, the Indian displays a marvelous sense of color and composition. And it is his sincere self-expression, not a copy."

Dixon's canvas celebrations of Southwest Indians account for his current high reputation among artists who depicted the American West. The superb female Indian nude of *Allegory*; the still, early morning processional of *The Wise Men*; the stoic grandeur of *Hopi Man*; the wistful meditativeness of *Juan Mirabal*; the Homeric nobility of *John Rainbow*; the serene wisdom, beyond loss or pain, of *Blind Hopi*; the hierophantic mystery of *Earth Knower*—the Indian paintings of Maynard Dixon bear witness to his love for these people. "I have learned a good deal from the Indians," Dixon



In No Place to Go *(1934), Dixon's California bindle stiff stares blankly at the blue Pacific, a casualty of the American industrial and social order.*

observed; "much from the sincerity and simple directness of their art, and more from those elements in the philosophy of their life."

Not surprisingly, Dixon wrote a good deal of poetry about Indians, especially in the late 1910's and into the 1920's. "The Conqueror" depicts in stark simplicity the death of a chief. "Navajo Song" attempts to render the rhythm and content of a Navajo chant. "Little God" is a dramatic monologue concerned with the mysterious impenetrability of Indian art. "Geronimo," Dixon's best poem about Indians, presents us with a very realistic, very balanced assessment of the great chief's career upon the occasion of his death as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

Dixon painted some of his best Indian paintings (including *Earth Knower*) while living in Taos in 1931—living, like the rest of depression America, from week to week, hand to mouth. On the way to Taos, he had twisted his arm and broken his jaw in an automobile accident outside of Santa Cruz, Dixon, a novice driver, crashing his tin lizzie on his maiden voyage as a protagonist in the age of Henry Ford. Fifty-five and fifty-six years of age, he was at the low ebb of his financial resources and the peak of his talent as a painter. Back in San Francisco, flat broke, he and Dorothea Lange were forced to board their two sons in Carmel while they moved into their Montgomery Street studios to cut down on living costs. Ever sensitive to the larger patterns of American life, Dixon internalized the psychological torment of the depression, almost to the point of upsetting his own mental health. He brooded over the vague, ominous feeling of impending doom that seemed to grip America. His concern became an obsession, demanding artistic expression, which he achieved in *Shapes of Fear*, a grouping of four completely blanketed, faceless Indians, emerging ominously from the darkness, the very embodiments of what Franklin Delano Roosevelt in his first inaugural address described as "fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance." Ironically, it was this very canvas—purchased by the National Academy of Design for $1500—that got the Dixons through the worst of the depression.

But even $1500 could not make this period less than a terrible time for Maynard Dixon. His wife Dorothea Lange, one of the great photographers of the 1930's, left him for another man, Dr. Paul Taylor of the University of California at Berkeley. Dixon had met Dorothea in 1919, when she was studying under San Francisco's great photographer Arnold Genthe and frequenting the Print Room Group at 540 Sutter Street, a photographer's circle and workshop. His marriage to Dorothea in 1920 coincided (not incidentally!) with the beginning of his major phase as a painter. The poem, "The Ancient Well,"

so exuberant in reproductive imagery, celebrated the birth of their first son. When Dorothea left him in 1935, Maynard Dixon, then in his mid-fifties, was thoroughly shaken.

Dixon's depression-era paintings, so electric with social protest, have always bothered his admirers, because they represent such a major departure from the southwestern themes of his maturity. Dixon himself admitted that no one bought them, although today, some forty or so years later, they seem major achievements of depression art, comparable to John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* or the migrant labor photographs of Dixon's former wife, Dorothea Lange—high points in California's artistic response to those dark and terrible days. Dixon never formally embraced the Left (his tendency to radicalism, he said, was checked by the weakness of the radical's arguments), but he poured into his somber, angry canvases his frustration and bafflement over America's economic and social travail. In *Law and Order* striking workers assault a policeman (Dixon lived through, and was profoundly affected by, the 1934 general waterfront strike). An unemployed older man, his hat and tattered overcoat showing vestiges of a former prosperity, hikes the railroad tracks in *Destination Unknown*. Angry workers mill around a speaker in *Free Speech*, policemen lurking threateningly in the obscured background. *Keep Moving*: the unemployed file aimlessly down a city street. *Forgotten Man*: a beaten jobseeker gives up, squats down on a curb in despair, while the rest of the city walks by unheedingly. *No Place to Go*: a bindle stiff, his blanket roll slung over his shoulder, stares blankly at the blue Pacific—the end of his journey, and no job in sight. *Destination Nowhere*: two men hit the road, knowing that nothing lies ahead. The Man versus Rock paintings that Dixon made in 1934 as official painter for the Hoover Dam project show a little more optimism—after all, the men are working—but even in this group, in the tired faces of the men being trucked to their barracks after a day of backbreaking labor, Dixon is sympathetic to the larger psychological devastations of the industrial order.

A number of Dixon's poems reflect his bitterness about the depression. "Contract" is the most overtly angry and radical; "Industrial," the most bitter. "Wakanda Look Down," written three days before Roosevelt declared a bank holiday in late February, 1933, has the most interesting strategy: a shaman, Old Medicine Arrow, expresses his bafflement over the inequalities and malfunctions of the white man's economy, venting both his own amusement and imagining that of Wakanda, the Great Spirit. "1934" is a truly powerful depression poem—one of Dixon's best, in fact. "Sermon on the Hump—John Whitecollar Speaking," while not excellent poetry, is yet a compelling dramatic monologue—the words, if you will, of the crowd-haranguer in the painting *Free Speech*.

The final thematic grouping in Dixon's poems revolves around the artist's dual response to modernism in art and to San Francisco, where, he felt, a derivative, over-precious modernism flourished. Dixon always felt a certain ambivalence to the city where he spent most of his life. At the turn of the century he believed that San Francisco was too much under the influence of Ambrose Bierce in matters literary and James McNeill Whistler in matters relating to painting. Dixon made his career in the city, however, even after World War I when so many of San Francisco's artists had departed for other places. Dixon worked out of his studio on the third floor of 728 Montgomery Street (now the Belli Building), breaking the day with lunch at Ricardo's at Jackson and Montgomery, or take-out Chinese food. Between 1920 and 1924, he turned out about one hundred and forty canvases—an absolute explosion of creativity.

Angered by the physical and psychological devastations of the Depression, Dixon's social protest paintings such as Free Speech *(1934–36), where policemen lurk ominously around a soapbox orator, have poetic counterparts.*

Maynard Dixon had very simple, very direct ideas about art. He believed that art was a healthy, natural event—not the hothouse activity of a cult. The best art, Dixon believed, did not come from aesthetic dogma, but from life vigorously lived and perceived by the artist. Dixon despised the worship of the obscure or the eccentric, the belief, in his words, that "if it's goofy, it must be art." He also believed that art, especially American art, should seek to please an American audience, or at least the sensitive segments of that audience, and not defy it with obscurantism or self-contemplating artiness. Art, for Maynard Dixon, began in the interaction of nature, experience, and the artist. It sought directness and clarity. As a working painter he despised a lot of talky-talk about art, especially when such pseudo-conceptual prattle dictated practice. "There is more nonsense written and spoken about Art (which no one yet has been able to define)," he believed, "than any other of our interests—except perhaps finance. . . . The proof of all visual art lies in what it can add to the experience of its beholders, not in any critique, analysis, or explanation."



Preferring the representational and the simple, Dixon was, on the other hand, no reactionary. Part of the reason he became estranged from the Bohemian Club was the club's banning of experimental painting under the presidency of Haig Patigian. If experimentation proceeded organically out of experience, and not as a matter of compulsive fashion, then Dixon approved of it. After all, his own style after 1920 was, in effect, a successful experiment. Too much of the art life of San Francisco, however, suggested to Dixon the ambiance of coteried and derivative cult—a certain brainless, chattering avant-guardism, more concerned with doctrine and artistic politics than autonomous response and achievement. Matters reached a head in 1930 when Dixon was passed over for the commission to do the murals in the newly rebuilt San Francisco Stock Exchange in favor of the radical hero, Diego Rivera of Mexico City. The city's artists and patrons like Albert Bender fawned over the portly, radical Mexican artist. Rivera, Dixon pointed out, encouraged San Francisco artists to paint their own time and place in their own way, and, in Dixon's words, "The celebrity hounds and painters who toadied to Rivera enthusiastically responded by imitating Rivera." Dixon personally liked the genial Mexican muralist, however, and derived great satisfaction at Rivera's revenge upon his San Francisco sycophants: he painted them in an art school mural lined up appreciatively behind his generous behind!

The poetic record of Maynard Dixon's constant, ambivalent response to San Francisco is one of the charms of this volume. "Respite" (1903) describes the city "growling like a dragon, dimly breathing/fever-poisoned vapors in the valley." "San Francisco" (1913), on the other hand, is a love-song to the city reborn from

At last
I shall give myself to the desert again,
that I, in its golden dust,
may be blown from a barren peak
broadcast over the sun-lands.
If you should desire some news of me,
go ask the little horned toad
whose home is the dust,
or seek it among the fragrant sage,
or question the mountain juniper,—
and they by their silence
will truly inform you.

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the ashes of 1906. "The Faith" (1916) suggests some of the personal pitfalls of San Francisco's burn-the-candle-at-both-ends bohemia, while "Little Reviewers" (1918) dramatizes Dixon's disgust with the city's art-for-art's-sake crowd. "Springtime Meditation" (1935), bitterly scatological, expresses Dixon's frustration, at the height of the depression, with being edged out of certain commissions, and friendships as well. In "Farewell to Sycophants" (1936), Dixon rather indecorously, but unambiguously, invites the artists of San Francisco to "kiss this end" when, back turned to the city, he heads once more to the rocks and the sage.

(Below) Dixon's last celebration of the western landscape, the Grand Canyon mural (1946) for the Los Angeles ticket office of the Santa Fe Railroad.

This verse's "odorous farewell," as he called it, anticipated by some three years Dixon's final departure from San Francisco in 1939. In 1937 he married Edith Hamlin, a San Francisco artist, who had helped him through his emotional depression after the break-up of his family. Talented, sensitive, attractive, loving but independent, Edith Hamlin brought harmony and happiness into the last nine years of Maynard Dixon's life. After 1939 the couple divided their time between a winter home—adobe, in the Mexican style—outside of Tucson, and a summer place—a great log cabin—at Mount Carmel near Zion National Park in southern Utah. After so much struggle and uncertainty, Maynard Dixon had come home.

Accordingly, a mood of resignation and peace settles into his poetry. "So unhurriedly I will pass/peacefully," he says in "The Years" (c. 1935), "yes, content, under the desert stars." There is some lament at life's losses—Dorothea's departure, for one, in the very fine poem "Rose"—but there is also eager appetite for the last act, the southwestern act, of the drama, wherein Maynard Dixon will face, as he puts it in "I Am" (1936), "the thing that I am;/where I face the void of all that I fail to be,/and knowing fear, shall not be afraid of that fear." "Pick the bones clean," he urges in "Sanctuary" (1935),



"let them lie free to the rain and the white cleansing sun./Leave only my thoughts./These thoughts that once made me a man/surely will find their way/back to the home corral in the quiet evening."

Maynard Dixon died on November 13, 1946, a few weeks after completing a mural at the Santa Fe Railroad ticket office in Los Angeles. By then, emphysema made just staying alive a heroic effort. Dixon made the sketches for the mural, while his wife Edith Hamlin, and two other friends, did the actual painting under Dixon's supervision. "As for myself," Dixon said toward the end of this life, "my choice of profession could not have been otherwise. At an early age I had a deep and intuitive conviction that art was my calling, and I have never departed from it. It is not an occupation, it is a way of life. With all its disadvantages (and in this land of ready-made they are many) I would not exchange it for any I know. To recreate with paint on canvas the wonder and beauty that I extract from this amazing western world of ours is for me enough."

Maynard Dixon left behind him a daughter, two sons, his widow Edith Hamlin, many friends, more than seven hundred paintings—and poems. One of these, "At Last," the final poem in this collection, serves as his epitaph.

The manuscript poems, the sketch *Mountain Man*, and the 1925 portrait are courtesy Edith Hamlin. The *Oakland Creek* illustration is from *The Overland Monthly*, February, 1895; the *Sunset* magazine cover and cartoon are from the September, 1904, issue of *Sunset*. *Corral Dust* is courtesy the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (gift of the Skae Fund); *Cloud World* is courtesy Clay Lockett, Tucson; *Earth Knower* is courtesy the Oakland Museum (gift of Abilio Reis); *No Place to Go* and *Free Speech* are in the Herald R. Clark Memorial Collection, Brigham Young University; *Home of the Desert Rat* is courtesy the Phoenix Art Museum (bequest of Leon H. Woolsey). The 1895 Dixon portrait is from the CHS Library.

Printed sources on Maynard Dixon include: Grant Wallace, *Maynard Dixon: Painter and Poet of the Far West* (San Francisco Art Research Project, WPA, 1937); *Maynard Dixon, Painter of the West*, Introduction by Arthur Miller (1945); and Wesley M. Burnside, *Maynard Dixon, Artist of the West* (1974). See also: Wilbur Hall, "The Art of Maynard Dixon," *Sunset Magazine*, 46 (1921), 44–45; and Ansel Adams, "Free Man in a Free Country: The West of Maynard Dixon," *The American West*, 6 (November, 1969), 41–47. A very limited collection of Dixon's own *Poems and Seven Drawings* was printed by Grabhorn Press in 1923. The Lummis-Dixon letters are in the Library of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles. Edith Hamlin, Maynard Dixon's widow, was interviewed in San Francisco on August 3, 1977. Also consulted: "Version A," bound source material from interviews with Maynard Dixon, assembled in San Francisco in 1936, now in the possession of Edith Hamlin.



Ronald L. Nye

The Challenge to Philanthropy

Unemployment Relief in Santa Barbara, 1930-1932

According to local legend, Santa Barbara escaped the Great Depression, or was affected by it only slightly. Many people have encouraged this myth, including the late Thomas M. Storke, newspaper publisher and United States senator, who apparently forgot his own participation in the events prior to Franklin Roosevelt's election in 1932. As well as clouding the record, however, this historical shadow has obscured the considerable efforts of the citizens of Santa Barbara to provide work relief between 1930 and 1932 for people victimized by the unemployment crisis caused by the economic depression.[1]

Unemployment, or the fear of it, became a major fact of life for many people in depression-era America. Moving with a domino effect the specter of unemployment—first, loss of job, then savings, then possessions, and finally pride—haunted the land.

Initially, almost everyone responded to the crisis by turning to the institutions which had traditionally provided assistance in time of high unemployment: the voluntary charitable agencies. In October, 1930, President Herbert Hoover officially sanctioned this reflex when he established the President's Emergency Committee for Employment. Under the direction of Colonel Arthur Woods, its task was to encourage and assist in the creation of local and statewide citizen committees to deal with the crisis. These committees, in turn, were to coordinate the efforts of self-help agencies and voluntary groups to find jobs and provide relief for the unemployed. As Hoover put it, "The basis of successful relief in national distress is to mobilize and organize the infinite number of agencies of self-help in the community."[2]

But even in the first year of the depression, as Hoover was attempting to mobilize the benevolent instincts of his fellow Americans, private charity was clearly failing to fulfill the role assigned to it. An investigation undertaken in mid-1931 by the Association of Community Chests and Councils revealed that of the 209 cities which were able to sponsor work relief programs during the winter of 1930-31, ninety-six of the programs were publicly financed, forty-seven relied on a combination of

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After an earthquake in 1925, the city's civic elite supervised the reconstruction on State Street's buildings along an Hispanic theme (1928 photograph taken at the 1000 Block).



private and public resources, and sixty-six were supported by private funding.[3] This trend toward public responsibility for relief was, in fact, part of a larger movement which had resulted as early as 1929 in public funding for as much as 71 percent of all relief activities in fifteen large cities.[4] The crash of 1929 and the depression only accelerated the movement, exhausting private—and eventually public—resources and quickly disabusing many people of their faith in the capabilities of private philanthropy.

With a population of 33,613 people, Santa Barbara was one of thirteen California cities with over 25,000 residents which undertook emergency work relief programs in the winter of 1930–1931. Six of the cities utilized public funds, four combined public and private financing, and three depended solely on private resources.[5] Only Santa Barbara, South Pasadena, and Sacramento relied exclusively on private charity in the winter of 1930–1931, and Santa Barbara followed the same course in the winter of 1931–1932 as well. This adherence to voluntarism in the face of rapidly expanding public efforts across the nation reflected the unique social and economic conditions that existed in pre-depression Santa Barbara.

Between the turn of the century and the thirties a class of wealthy citizens, lured from the East by the city's temperate Pacific climate, began settling in palatial country estates in the scenic Santa Barbara foothills. Investing large sums of money in real estate, homes, and furnishings, these prosperous newcomers naturally became a dominant force in the life and politics of the community. The occupational distribution of most of the city's 15,000 workers reflected the economic structure of a wealthy residential resort city: domestic and personal services, wholesale and retail trade, and building trades formed the largest categories of employment.

A winter playground for the wealthy and young, a residential haven for the wealthy and retired, the city made the largest amount of its revenue from tourism. By forming civic groups which encouraged the protection and enhancement of the city's natural and man-made environment, the upper classes were to a considerable extent responsible for the central role of tourism in the city's economy. The Community Arts Association, for example, through its four branches, promoted music, art, and drama and also encouraged the construction of safe and architecturally harmonious buildings. Another elite association, the Santa Barbarans, Incorporated, supported civic enterprises, regattas, and tournaments

and promoted the "many unusual advantages of Santa Barbara as a place of residence to people of means and culture."[6]

Such civic involvement fired a movement in the 1920's in which, according to one historian, "the beautification of the city became an all-consuming interest."[7] Following purchase and restoration of the historic De la Guerra House in 1924 by Bernhard Hoffman, for example, dozens of wealthy individuals and business establishments purchased, restored, or erected buildings of Spanish architecture. After the destructive earthquake of 1925, the civic elite was given another opportunity to improve the complexion of downtown Santa Barbara. The Architectural Board of Review, an upper-class creation, directed (some would say "dictated") the reconstruction of State Street, imposing Hispanic architectural themes over the crumbled "Main Street" architecture.[8]

Throughout the 1920's civic philanthropy appeared to be the major preoccupation of the upper class in Santa Barbara. Many individuals served on various commissions, while others gave liberally from their fortunes to such projects as the restoration of the Old Mission. Others made available or donated to the city much of the scenic waterfront area. In 1925, for example, Mr. and Mrs. David Gray donated nearly $100,000 for the building of a bathing pavilion on East Cabrillo Boulevard. In 1928, in response to plans by property owners to build business structures on the beach, a group of citizens including Max C. Fleischmann, Dwight Murphy, and Harold S. Chase formed a non-profit syndicate, purchased the property, and held it until the city was financially able to acquire it two years later. A similar group came forward a short time later, purchased the old Stearns Wharf franchise, and built the structure in present use. Finally, in 1927 the construction of the breakwater and yacht harbor was begun, but its construction could not have started without the advocacy of Max C. Fleischmann, who by the time of its completion had contributed over a half-million dollars to the project.[9]

The philanthropic-civic elite, as the local press frequently reported, was also the mainstay of Santa Barbara's charitable institutions. Following the successful Community Chest and Red Cross campaigns in 1931, the *Morning Press* stated that for many years the wealthy had carried "seventy-five percent of our charities and welfare obligations."[10] According to one observer, those who had a hand in Santa Barbara's development were people of "vision," people who "love the place in which they live, and therefore . . . find pleasure in using their money for the welfare of their town and its people."[11]

The influence of Santa Barbara's upper class, then, extended into every important segment of the community's life. The elite served as employer, almsgiver, and benefactor, frequently taking charge and demonstrating strength when the local government either would not dare or could not financially afford to do so. Hence, it was quite natural that Santa Barbara would display not only a strong sense of self-reliance as a city, but that it would aim for private, not public, funding for any temporary and unavoidable relief projects.

The approach of the winter of 1930-1931 found a number of Santa Barbarans optimistic about the future and untroubled by reports of economic distress elsewhere in the state and nation. "No hard times have been experienced here in Santa Barbara," proclaimed Editor R. G. Fernald of the *Morning Press* in September, "and with the business barometer rising, the chances are that we have escaped such conditions as caused a cry from other sections of the country."[12] A month later a banker declared that Santa Barbara would remain prosperous and free of unemployment because the city's largest employers, the estate owners, were sustaining the economy by continuing with their normal building and maintenance activities.[13]

Such optimism proved unfounded, however, as the





Santa Barbara's Channel Islands form the backdrop to the Peter Bryce estate, a typical upper-class residence employing many domestic workers.

Max C. Fleischmann, Santa Barbara's most generous civic philanthropist, rode in the annual Fiesta parade in 1927.



harsh realities of economic depression slowly but inexorably surfaced. The dollar value of building construction, an important source of local employment, dropped 50 percent between October and November in 1930.[14] The decline in building activity was in part the result of retrenchment by estate owners who, caught up in the economic turmoil, either became cautious spenders or returned East to look after financial interests.[15] In their wake remained scores of gardeners, chauffeurs, and skilled and unskilled workmen who became unwilling additions to the ranks of the jobless.

One of the first to acknowledge the growing seriousness of the unemployment problem was Aleta Brownlee, executive secretary of the County Welfare Department. In the first week of November she acknowledged that unemployment had become her department's greatest concern. "Frankly," she remarked, "I don't quite see how we can handle the problem, as it appears to be growing."[16] A week later, Thomas M. Storke, the editor of the *Daily News*, declared that "too long have we ignored the fact that there is a real need for measures to assist those who seek employment, and he called for "systematic registration of both jobs and jobless during the coming winter."[17]

Large numbers of responsible citizens, however, either remained unconvinced that there was a "real need" in Santa Barbara or did not wish it to be publicized. On November 21 at a heavily attended and emotion-charged meeting in the offices of the Chamber of Commerce, Santa Barbarans wrangled over the best way for the city to manage its unemployment problem. Among those present were the mayor, the chairman of the County Board of Supervisors, directors of public and private welfare agencies, representatives of business, social, religious, and labor organizations. In the course of the meeting two factions emerged. One claimed that too much attention had been given to the unemployment problem, while the other argued that overly optimistic publicity had given Santa Barbarans the impression that no problem existed. The first faction, arguing that the existing welfare agencies were capable of handling job placement, defeated a motion to establish an employment bureau. A motion was carried, however, to create an employment committee which would establish contact between employers and the jobless and stimulate the creation of new employment.[18]

Seven days later the group met again, this time under the direction of the newly-created Citizens' Employment Committee, which was chaired by E. M. Sherrill,

This working-class home on Ladera Street rented for $10 per month but lacked running water, indoor plumbing, and sewers.

vice president of the Chamber of Commerce. Again the creation of an employment bureau was brought up, and this time it was agreed to establish a privately funded Community Employment Bureau which would function only for one month. Through the operations of the bureau, the committee hoped to place as many unemployed as possible, but more importantly it sought to "determine the facts concerning unemployment in Santa Barbara and to formulate ways to reduce extreme conditions of unemployment by emergency measures if such [conditions] should be found to exist."[19]

Accordingly, on December 1, Committee Chairman Sherrill addressed form letters to all "Santa Barbara Employers" under the banner, "Create a Job." Urging "cooperation in a plan to keep our people on a self-supporting basis by providing work instead of charity," Sherrill called upon businessmen to "retain every employee" and to "do your maintenance and repair work now and provide work." The Community Employment Bureau, he continued, was "faced with an overwhelming plea for help, which for the month of November was three times that of November, 1929." One-hundred fifty of "Our Own People" had already applied, he explained, before assuring businessmen that the committee "checks every application, and segregates the TRANSIENT!" Finally, Sherrill urged that temporary jobs be created in order to assuage the "present temporary depression."[20]

Not surprisingly the Citizens' Committee's findings after the first four weeks of the bureau's operation confirmed many community leaders' worst suspicions. Of the more than 500 men and women who registered with the bureau that month, for example, the great majority were permanent residents, heretofore employed, and not previously known to social welfare agencies.[21] Of the men, 143 were listed as "skilled laborers," and 130 fell into the domestic or personal service category: 60 chauffeurs, 46 gardeners, 13 kitchen helpers, and 11 cooks. As for the women applicants, 50 were listed under the category of "house work" and 24 under "clerks—office work."[22] Placed in jobs by the bureau were 248 men and 74 women, but the impact on unemployment remained slight, because the great majority of the 322 jobs were only from four hours to two or three days in length.[23]

Large numbers of responsible citizens either remained unconvinced that there was a "real need" in Santa Barbara or did not wish it to be publicized.

Faced with the exhaustion of private social agency funds, civic leaders urgently convened more meetings. They next decided to launch a comprehensive work relief project to be supported almost entirely by private funding. The prospect of public funding still remained only a possible supplemental source for private relief.[24]

A new committee composed of four wealthy and civic-minded Santa Barbara citizens was formed in December, 1930. It was chaired by Harold S. Chase, an influential real-estate developer, and included Max C. Fleischmann, heir to the Fleischmann Yeast fortune, Dwight Murphy, and E. W. Alexander. Taking quick action, this Emergency Unemployment Fund Committee launched a subscription campaign in the last week of December aimed at raising $50,000 from Santa Barbara's upper-class residents. The committee mailed a form letter to each potential subscriber which stated that the purpose of the campaign was to "*create employment* through . . . city street and park commissions, Supervisors, etc., to the end that direct civic improvement will also result." Furthermore, the letter continued, except for emergency cases such as "complete credit exhaustion, starvation and sickness, *all relief* will be given by providing work." Finally, it was urged that the existence of the committee, the size of the fund, and the names of the

In wealthy Santa Barbara, the Salvation Army's shelter at 323 Motor Way housed thousands of transient men who were fed and given a place to sleep for one night before being sent out of the city.

subscribers be kept confidential. Otherwise, the letter speculated, "the committee would not serve, and many of the probable underwriters would not cooperate." Moreover, it was suggested, publicity would attract to Santa Barbara those who were not eligible to be helped by the work of the committee.[25]

The response to the Chase committee's appeal from Santa Barbara's wealthy proved disappointing. The committee raised only about $30,000, far less than its goal, in part because only a small number of individuals were solicited. Perhaps the committee believed that a small solicitation might assure the important confidentiality, but more likely the committee overestimated the charitableness of the upper classes. Of the scant sixty-five individuals who were contacted, only thirty-seven subscribed to the unemployment fund.[26]

Despite this meager response, surviving correspondence reveals no animosity among the wealthy towards the Chase committee or its work. Indeed, many who declined to subscribe explained that they were instead providing employment themselves. "Employment is better than a contribution," wrote Mrs. Oakleigh Thorne, who added that "those who *can* give employment should do so." George O. Knapp, like several other respondents, reported that he was "keeping some men employed . . . mostly on unnecessary projects such as trails, roads, et cetera, which ordinarily I would abandon at this season of the year." John A. Jameson and John J. Mitchell wrote of similar employment activities, but while Jameson subscribed to the Chase fund, Mitchell chose to contribute money in the East where conditions were "so much worse than they are here."[27]

Despite the low level of subscriptions, then, there is much evidence to suggest active concern among the philanthropic-civic elite for Santa Barbara and its unemployed. Perhaps George O. Knapp, who expressed a personal obligation to help prevent the spread of unemployment, may have been representative of that group. Fearing that many "people of considerable means" were discharging their gardeners and other employees, Knapp expressed hope that the "rumor" was ill-founded because, as he wrote, "we are liable to be called upon to the limit during the next few months." While Knapp fulfilled his personal commitment by creating or continuing jobs, other wealthy Santa Barbarans responded to the solicitation with money. Twenty-two individuals subscribed $500 or more, fourteen gave $1,000 or more, and Max C. Fleischmann, the largest single donor, contributed $5,000.[28]

In pursuing its goal of creating employment, the city's Emergency Unemployment Fund Committee functioned mainly through the Community Employment Bureau. Work projects conceived and administered by the city park board and the city engineer's office were funded by the committee and supplied with workers by the bureau. The Community Chest and its two main branches—the Neighborhood House and the Salvation Army—worked closely with the committee, providing general relief and family welfare services. The Community Chest, through its operation of the Social Service Exchange, also processed nearly all applicants for employment relief, recommending for work only those in greatest need who were clearly residents of Santa Barbara County.[29]

In the end the number of jobs created by the Unemployment Fund Committee during its eight and one-half months existence—jobs for which the wages of the workers were paid directly from the money collected by subscription—numbered only 602. Most people fortunate enough to have shared in the fund's meager benefits were employed on city work projects, whose main purpose was civic beautification. Thus, under the direction of the park department, trees and shrubs were planted throughout the city; Mission Creek in Oak Park was







Unemployed men reinforced the sea wall at Cabrillo Pavilion in the winter of 1931–32, a project chosen for its heavy requirements of hand labor, under the supervision of the Chase committee.

At the turn of the century, pleasure spots such as the San Marcos Hotel lured easterners to Santa Barbara—and provided waiter and kitchen help jobs to the local working-class residents.

"cleared of all boulders"; twenty-five men spent four days cleaning up beaches; and the ivy in Alameda Park was replaced with lawn. The work created and supervised by the city street department included the grading and widening of several city streets and similar work on the Coast Highway.[30]

Santa Barbara's unemployed obtained a far greater number of jobs through the general operation of the Community Employment Bureau. Although the bureau's operating expenses were paid by the unemployment fund, the employees' wages were paid, as in normal times, by the businesses or individuals which hired them. As of September 15, 1931, some 2,380 jobs had been provided in this manner, including 400 additional jobs in "Forestry and Fire" found by the bureau. Unfortunately, only 20 per cent of the bureau's jobs were over four days in length. Not only was job brevity a problem with community-generated employment, but due to the committee's concern with spreading funds as widely as possible, even its meager 602 jobs averaged only nine days in length.[31]

As the committee's chairman Harold S. Chase had anticipated in December, 1930, an emergency situation arose in February of 1931 which required an allocation from the fund for purposes of relief other than work relief. Accordingly, about $3,500 was given to the Neighborhood House to be used as direct relief for needy resident families crushed by unemployment. The money was used for such basics as groceries, rent payments, and family counseling, and this was the only direct-relief allotment made by the committee, a fact of which it was proud. In its final report, in fact, the committee boasted



that "exclusive of the cost of operating the bureau and the emergency relief donation, . . . approximately ninety percent of the fund was disbursed exclusively for labor."[32]

Santa Barbara's first experience with a work-relief program was not unlike that of many other cities in the nation. The city failed to appreciate the magnitude of task which it had undertaken, but it could not be accused of responding hastily, or be denied a qualified success.[33] The committee created some employment and disbursed almost all of its relief funds on work projects, as proposed. But its efforts to alleviate the massive unemployment problem in Santa Barbara proved futile. In 1931, however, this situation was not yet interpreted as a failure of the philanthropic or charitable approach, but as a failure of a committee's campaign drive which should have been bolder, with a wider appeal, and more rationally directed.

By the fall of 1931, then, the unemployment crisis in Santa Barbara was worsening, despite the efforts of the Chase committee and the Community Chest. On September 21, Hood Spencer, manager of the Community Employment Bureau, conceded that his organization had not been successful in providing jobs for the approximately 1,235 jobless men and women who were seeking employment through the bureau. Less than 2 per cent of the jobs already located could be termed "permanent," i.e., paying by the week or by the month. In addition, the city contained 700 unemployed members of trades unions who had not even registered with the bureau because the unions were still attempting to care for their own.[34] This inability of philanthropic charity to retard measureably the growth of unemployment during the preceding months and the prospects of an even higher jobless rate for the coming winter caused some Santa Barbara citizens to begin questioning the wisdom of continued relianee on private relief.

In June of 1931 the welfare agencies represented in the County Social Service Conference had recommended the creation of a committee to urge the city or county to create jobs. In August, E. W. Alexander of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee stated that there was "no likelihood" that an unemployment fund would be raised again. "Santa Barbara must meet its unemployment problem this winter in a different fashion," he insisted. Because "wealthy men have suffered large reductions in their incomes," Alexander concluded, "we cannot ask people of this town to again give the large fund they donated last year."[35] In October Editor R. G. Fernald of the *Morning Press* urged that the role of local government in the provision of work relief should be larger than it had been in the past. The task of caring for the city's unemployed would be a heavy one, he continued, and the "more public aid we can furnish, the less drain upon the private purse and the more generally will be distributed the cost."[36]

Disregarding these accumulating public statements and proposals, Mayor H. T. Nielson, the Unemployment Relief Committee, and the appropriate social agency heads met on September 22, 1931, and decided to raise from private donations a second year's unemployment relief fund. The pleas for public spending, as yet merely the opinions of individuals, were too weak to affect the course of events, and neither the general public, politicians, nor the business community considered conditions among the unemployed so critical that private philanthropy could not meet their needs.

But if organized support and concrete proposals for greater public funding in Santa Barbara were lacking, such was not the case for the private charity concept. In October two members of the unemployment committee, Dwight Murphy and Chase, were appointed, respectively, vice-chairman of the Southern California division and chairman of the Santa Barbara County division of President Hoover's President's Organization on Unemployment Relief (POUR). Santa Barbara's Chase com-

The Carlson Flats on the 700 Block of East Haley Street became typical homes for Santa Barbara's unemployed during the depression.

Captain R. H. Simpson of the Salvation Army reported that the transients were "in an ugly and despondent mood, damning Capital in particular and Society in general."

mittee was thus linked to a national organization which, through a network of regional and local committees, promoted the concepts and programs of self-help and philanthropic giving.[37]

The conditions under which the new campaign was launched in October, 1931, were more desperate than they had been in the first campaign. Not only had unemployment and its attendant woes increased, but larger numbers of transients began passing through the city. While 720 homeless men had applied for assistance to the Salvation Army in January of 1930, for example, the number who applied in October, 1931, rose to 2,750.[38] Many people, including the members of the Chase committee, believed that these transients posed a serious new threat to both life and property in Santa Barbara. Hence, in its appeal for unemployment funds, the committee also sought to alert the community to the urgency of the transient problem. Speaking on behalf of the committee, Captain R. H. Simpson of the Salvation Army reported that the transients were coming to his organization "in an ugly and dispondent mood, damning Capital in particular and Society in general; they have listened to and have been influenced by radicals." Mayor Nielson likewise expressed his concern about the transients, warning that "the menace from this type cannot be exaggerated" and that "to ignore them is to invite, without question, crime and disorders." Therefore, he promised, the committee's work relief projects for unemployed residents would be expanded, under the supervision of the Salvation Army, with direct relief to transients. In this way, concluded the mayor, the community's protection would be assured, because transients would be "handled by men of experience, fed and given a place to sleep for the night, kept under supervision, and gotten out of the city as early as possible the next day."[39]

In the second year's campaign the committee's appeal for funds was thus greatly expanded. This time 232 wealthy individuals, rather than 65, were contacted, and, in an effort to make unemployment relief a community affair, contributions were also solicited from steadily employed groups of employees such as teachers and policemen. In the end nearly $115,000 was subscribed, of which $88,500 was paid by 103 individuals pledging $100 or more and the remainder by small donations from individuals and organizations. Most previous contributors donated substantially larger amounts to the second fund campaign, with Fleischmann again heading the list with a contribution of $21,000.[40]

One wealthy individual who declined to subscribe, however, took issue with both the committee's methods and its plans for disbursing funds. George A. Batchelder complained that "cash contributions during the present stringency are impossible." He argued instead for a plan to finance the improvement of the Old Mission frontage by which subscription payments could be spread over a period of years. The employment created by this project, he lobbied, would benefit unemployed residents, not transients, and would also beautify this tourist "mecca." Batchelder believed that the committee's plans to provide overnight shelter to transients would make Santa Barbara an attractive spot for undesirables and cause "hobo camps" to spring up around the city. Relief funds should be spent to employ "habitual workers," not to give "dole" to tramps. "Any aid extended them," he concluded on a warning note, "should be disbursed through the Sheriff's office."[41]

Batchelder was not the only one to dissent from the Chase committee's method of handling transients. The



At the Salvation Army men's center at 323 Motor Way, transients reportedly arrived in the winter of 1931-32 in an "ugly and despondent mood."

The controversial shelter fed and housed the men for one night, discouraged all political discussions, and sent the men out of the city the next day.



committee's newly hired executive secretary, R. C. Branion, urged the Salvation Army to establish a work test for transients because it appeared to some that the committee was "providing free meals and lodging for the transients while we force Santa Barbara men to work for the relief they get." A work test, however, was not established until the fall of 1932, and by the end of April, the committee had provided 28,594 meals and 9,625 overnight beds to homeless travelers.[42]

In addition to providing direct relief, the committee moved to protect the city from transients by enlarging the police force. An Emergency Police Force of twenty men was created by the Chase committee and placed in the service of Police Chief G. C. Sloan, who, with the blessings of civic leaders, undertook an aggressive security program.[43] To prepare the city for trouble, Sloan secured appropriations from the police and fire commission for machine-gun ammunition. Further, he authorized roadblocks for south-bound traffic just north of the city limits and the search of automobiles for "suspicious persons." Hoping to drive from the city people whose presence might harm its residential resort image, police systematically swept through hobo camps and pool halls. In January, 1932, the police braced for the invasion of an "Unemployed Army" which was to pass through Santa Barbara on its way to Sacramento. When it arrived on January 5, only twenty-one strong, and refused to accept aid from the Salvation Army, it was immediately escorted by the police to the city limits. There, a newspaper reported, its ragged "soldiers" took up "a collection to buy gasoline for the three decrepit automobiles and one truck, . . . sang the Communistic 'Internationale,' and proceeded on their way." While there were other false alarms, such as the discovery of a plot by twelve "Red" transients "to take the town," the committee in its final report commended the extra protection provided by the Emergency Police Force which had kept Santa Barbara "notably free of crimes of violence" during the winter.[44]

If the handling of the transient problem brought the most publicity to the committee, the problems of providing work relief to unemployed residents absorbed most of its energy and resources. Confronted on October 31, 1931, with 1,320 individuals (including 416 families with children) actively seeking employment, Executive



Police Chief Sloan posed (at left) with men of the Emergency Police Force who were charged with protecting Santa Barbara from possible "crime and disorders" caused by the influx of homeless men.

Secretary Branion suggested the creation of an Unemployment Case Committee which would determine which applicants should receive work relief on the basis of greatest need. Applicants representing families with children were given priority, and the income of each family member was taken into account and one individual given work relief. In another departure from the policies of the previous employment campaign, every individual approved for work relief was guaranteed employment for at least ninety days, or until the unemployment fund was exhausted. This policy, the committee's final report stated, was calculated to eliminate the "daily nervous strain on men who were otherwise unable from day to day to see any means of feeding their families." Of a total of 2,012 applicants considered by the Unemployment Case Committee, work relief was approved for 666 people, whose families included 2,904 persons. Ominously, the Community Employment Bureau reported itself even less successful in providing jobs than in the first year's campaign. Only 1,556 temporary and permanent jobs were found for its 4,423 applicants, leaving 3,469 active job seekers out of work by April 30, 1932.[45]

However limited, Santa Barbara's public works projects provided badly needed employment to the city's most destitute citizens, and they also produced significant improvements in the appearance and usefulness of city-owned properties. In cooperation with the city park department, the city engineering and street department, and the Montecito Roadside Committee, the fund offered unemployed men jobs on projects chosen on the basis of "greatest public benefit" and most hand labor required. Because the fund's larger budget permitted more numerous and more extensive projects than in the previous year, one of the most important improvements supervised by the park department was the conversion of virtually all of East Beach (except for a small portion then known as Palm Park) from an unsightly debris-strewn area to a sand-covered bathing beach. Another major improvement, directed by the engineering and street department, provided for the construction of a forty-foot-wide roadway on West Beach between Leadbetter Road and the shore end of the breakwater. A large stretch of beach was made accessible, and the new road, according to the Chase committee, eliminated the "necessity of parking a distance of several blocks away from the breakwater."[46]

Tacitly acknowledging that the depression hit some classes and groups of people harder than others, individuals in charge of the second unemployment relief campaign sought not only to provide work for heads of resident families and security from transients, but also to meet the special needs of three other segments of the population: unmarried men, Mexican-Americans and Mexican non-citizens, and women. In December, 1931, Secretary Branion appeared before the County Board of Supervisors to request that the board cooperate with the county forester and the federal forestry service in providing work camps for resident single men. The men, he lobbied, were being deprived of relief employment because the unemployment committee could only afford to offer jobs to men with dependents. In the end, only two camps employing about sixty men were funded by the county on a tenuous month-to-month basis, and a disappointed Branion argued in vain that "these men are kept off the streets" by the camps and that it was less expensive for the county to operate the camps than it was to care for the men through the welfare department.[47]

Unemployment among the more than 3,000 Mexican-American and Mexican non-citizens living in Santa Barbara presented special problems for public authorities. While some people obtained employment in the local lemon-harvesting industry, others suffered greatly because of the declining demand for unskilled laborers.[48] The committee, however, would not offer relief work to recently arrived non-citizens, and the county welfare

Unemployed women, at first "inefficient with the needle," repaired clothing for relief wages at the Neighborhood House.

The most expedient solution to unemployment among aliens became deportation, a policy which the welfare department had been actively pursuing since 1926.

department viewed non-citizens only as a further drain on its budget. Hence, the most expedient solution to alien unemployment became deportation, a policy which the welfare department had been actively pursuing since 1926.[49] "It will be cheaper to pay their way and send them home," announced Aleta Brownlee, executive secretary of the department, "than to keep them here and support them through the winter." Joining the statewide "Back to Mexico" movement, in October, 1931, her department sponsored the return of at least seventy-eight persons to Mexico. The Chase committee also took part in deportations, facilitating the return of thirty families. "There was no coercion," the committee's report stated, "but on the contrary the movement was purely voluntary on the part of the families, after due consideration of all known facts."[50]

Within the Santa Barbara community at large there was considerable disagreement over repatriation. In March, 1932, for example, Branion reported that "we are not getting the cooperation that is desired" from two charitable organizations which were apparently discouraging Mexican families from returning to Mexico. In April, on the other hand, the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution held a large party in honor of thirty Mexican non-citizens who were soon to be repatriated. The speaker of the evening advised them to "adapt themselves to the customs and conditions of their old home and try not to be gringoes' in their native land. (Entertainment included ethnic music and dance and the singing of "America" and "Mi Mexico.")[51]

Although Branion favored repatriation, he also believed that non-citizen Mexican families who had lived in Santa Barbara for several years should, like other residents, be eligible for work relief. He arranged for the committee to provide relief employment for fifty-six non-citizen males, most of whom were assigned to cut wood on a special project supervised by the park department.[52]

Early in the committee's second campaign Branion acknowledged that unemployed women as a class also needed special assistance in finding jobs. Women could not be assigned to city relief work projects because these projects required hard physical labor. Furthermore, reported Branion in January, 1932, "Women whose only experience is housework are becoming an increasing problem to us, as they are not particularly qualified for any kind of work, and are more difficult to fit into group work than are men." Another problem, he continued, was that "women generally do not care to make application at the [employment] office where there are so many men waiting around." Branion suggested that a separate employment office at a different location be established for women, a suggestion upon which, apparently, no action was ever taken. However, the committee did finally provide some work for women. Women numbering 125, many of whom, according to the committee's report, at first "were not really efficient with the needle," were given relief employment in the Salvation Army's sewing room. The committee also paid the wages of twenty-six women who did similar work at the Neighborhood House. In addition to a small number who obtained clerical work, forty-eight women were sporadically employed by the City Teachers Club, where their wages were partially paid by the committee. Finally, with the committee's approval, destitute women were able to obtain free meals from the Good Samaritan Relief Kitchen operated by the Foursquare Gospel Church.[53]

Several months later on April 30, 1932, the work relief activities of the Santa Barbara district branch of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief



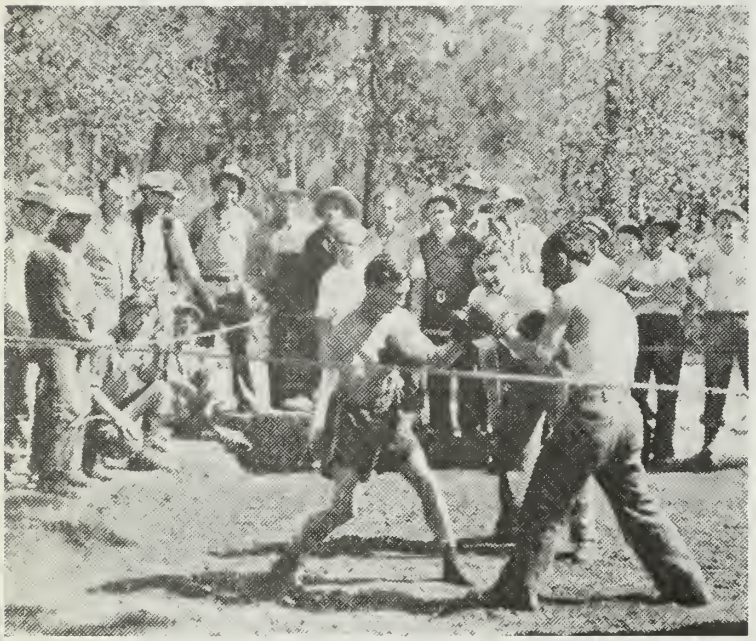
came to a halt, its fund depleted. Distribution to indigents of bread and flour made available by the American Red Cross continued, but the citizenry could no longer boast that there were "no bread lines in Santa Barbara."[54]

On May 2 Santa Barbara's Salvation Army opened an Emergency Employment Bureau, but the prospect of finding employment for the 3,469 idle men and women left in the wake of the Community Employment Bureau's closing and POUR's suspension of activities was not bright.[55] In its final report, the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee concluded that unemployment relief had "finally become largely a matter of public responsibility."[56] Moreoever, for the first time, many Santa Barbara citizens began seriously to advocate large-scale, publicly financed work relief programs. Accordingly, the County Board of Supervisors was deluged with proposals and demands. Dwight Murphy of the old unemployment committee advocated issuing bonds for public works projects; Branion asked that the supervisors use existing funds for road repair work projects; and numerous citizens representing labor, welfare, civic, and business organizations attended supervisorial meetings to demand a substantial unemployment relief program.[57]

In late June the supervisors inaugurated a two-part work relief plan based on a program suggested by Aleta Brownlee, executive secretary of the County Welfare Department. First, a commissary was established through which groceries were distributed to unemployed men in exchange for work performed on city improvement projects. Second, the work-camp program was enlarged to provide board and work at fifty cents per day for 150 single men. The program was placed under the direction of the welfare department, and the county unemployment relief fund was to be expanded to at least $300,000 for the summer.[58] Thus, in the short eighteen-month period from January, 1931, to June, 1932, the principal funding source for work relief in Santa Barbara was transferred from the private to the public sector.

The unemployment crisis of 1930–1932 shattered the best hopes of Santa Barbara's philanthropic-civic elite for a private solution to the financing of work relief. If, as a resort city, the unemployment crisis emerged more slowly than elsewhere, it nonetheless seriously challenged Santa Barbara's philanthropic tradition. Faith in the potential of private charity was reluctantly abandoned only after two jobless winters during which those who had done so much to institutionalize voluntarism could no longer meet the community's needs. But if Santa Barbarans were slow to understand the limitations of philanthropic giving, before the decade's end they would nevertheless become eager beneficiaries of federal monies for welfare services.[59]

Some unemployed single men were assigned to Figueroa Mountain work camp for forestry and fire control activities. They relaxed with all-male recreations such as boxing.



The photograph of the hotel employees is from the Santa Barbara Historical Society. The other photographs are from the Community Development and Conservation Collection, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Notes

1. In *California Editor* (Los Angeles, 1958), p. 337, Storke wrote that in spite of the conditions prevailing across the country in mid-1932, "the situation in Santa Barbara could be considered fairly normal."
2. Albert U. Romasco, *The Poverty of Abundance* (New York, 1965), pp. 126–29, 144–45.
3. Joanna C. Colcord, William C. Koplovitz and Russell H. Kurtz, *Emergency Work Relief as Carried Out in Twenty-six American Communities, 1930–1931* (New York, 1932), pp. 253–55.
4. Josephine C. Brown, *Public Relief, 1929–1939* (New York, 1940), p. 55.
5. The California cities that relied on public financing were: Alameda, Monterey, Oakland, Pasadena, San Diego, San Francisco. Those which used a combination of public and private financing were: Berkeley, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Santa Ana. Colcord, *Emergency Work Relief*, 253.
6. Walker A. Tompkins, *Santa Barbara Past and Present* (Santa Barbara, 1975), p. 90; M. Ann Windolph, "A Case Study of an Outgrowth of Settlement Work: The Department of Recreation of the City of Santa Barbara, California, 1929–1941" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1968), pp. 25–26; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Unemployment*, I, 169; *Population*, III, part I, 275; Southern California Writers' Project, *Santa Barbara: A Guide to the Channel City and Its Environs* (New York, 1941), p. 58; Tompkins, *Santa Barbara*, 93–100; *Santa Barbarans, Incorporated: Its Purpose, Organization, and Accomplishments* (June, 1932).
7. Tompkins, *Santa Barbara*, 92.
8. Pearl Chase, *Bernhard Hoffmann—Community Builder, Santa Barbara, 1921–1927*. Plans and Planting Committee. Reprinted from *Noticias* (Summer, 1959), Santa Barbara Historical Society. The Architectural Board of Review was abolished by the city council on February 4, 1926, after State Street merchants successfully deposed its supporters on the council in the municipal election of December 1, 1925. It was not the board's insistence on Hispanic architecture which inspired the merchants' revolt, however, as most merchants obligingly complied with the board's guidelines. Instead, it was the fact that the board represented a philanthropic-civic elite which had actively supported tourist trade, but consistently opposed the further commercial development of State Street. See Raymond D. Tracy, Jr., "The Reconstruction of State Street" (unpublished research paper, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1970), pp. 20–35.
9. Tompkins, *Santa Barbara*, 92–93; *Santa Barbara Morning Press*. March 13, 1925; *Ibid.*, December 4, 1930; Owen H. O'Neill, *History of Santa Barbara County* (Santa Barbara, 1939), p. 316; E. S. Spaulding, "The Breakwater," *Noticias*, 8 (Spring, 1962): 10; Pearl Chase, "East Cabrillo Boulevard—How it Happened," in *Bernhard Hoffmann—Community Builder*.
10. *Morning Press*, October 28, 1931; see also: *Morning Press*, October 1, 1930; Santa Barbara *Daily News*, February 16 and February 21, 1931; *Morning Press*, November 16, 1931; Windolph, "Case Study."
11. Fred B. Jackson, in John Steven McGroarty, *California of the South*, 4 vols. (Los Angeles, 1933), I: 381.
12. *Morning Press*, September 27, 1930.
13. *Morning Press*, October 26, 1930.
14. *Morning Press*, December 1, 1931.
15. Windolph, "Case Study," 22–23; Tompkins, *Santa Barbara*, 91, 104; Hobart O. Skofield, interview with author, Santa Barbara, March 4, 1975.
16. *Morning Press*, November 6, 1930.
17. *Daily News*, November 15, 1930.
18. *Daily News*, November 21, 1930; *Morning Press*, November 21, 1930.
19. *Morning Press*, November 28, 1930.

20. E. M. Sherrill to Santa Barbara Employers (form letter), December 1, 1930, (emphasis in original). All reports and manuscripts, except where otherwise noted, are found in the Emergency Unemployment Relief Papers, Community Development and Conservation Collection, University of California, Santa Barbara.
21. "Report of the Jobs Filled Through the Community Employment Bureau, November 28, 1930 to Feb. 25, 1931," February 26, 1931; "Report of the Community Employment Bureau, Nov. 28, 1930 to Dec. 25, 1930."
22. "Report of the Community Employment Bureau, Nov. 28, 1930 to Dec. 25, 1930."
23. "Report of the Jobs Filled Through the Community Employment Bureau, Nov. 28, 1930 to Feb. 25, 1931," February 26, 1931.
24. *Daily News*, December 6, 1930; *Morning Press*, December 6 and 10, 1930.
25. H. S. Chase to M. Schott (form letter), December 22, 1930 (emphasis in original). For more information on Harold S. Chase, see R. L. Nye, "Harold S. Chase, 1890–1970: The Life and Legacy of Santa Barbara's Quiet Friend." *Soundings*, 8 (December, 1976): 43–64.
26. "Unemployment Fund Committee: Receipts," September 19, 1931; "Subscriptions Received, Unemployment Fund," p. 2; "Unemployment Fund Committee: Receipts," September 19-1931.
27. Mrs. O. Thorne to H. S. Chase, January 9, 1931 (emphasis in original); G. O. Knapp to H. S. Chase, January 2, 1931; J. A. Jameson to H. S. Chase, January 12, 1931; E. M. Awl to H. S. Chase, January 15, 1931.
28. G. O. Knapp to H. S. Chase, January 2, 1931; "Unemployment Fund Committee," September 19, 1931.
29. Emergency Unemployment Fund Committee (EUFC), *Report*, October, 1931, pp. 1–2.
30. EUFC, *Report*, 2; City Park Board, "Report of work done under the supervision of the City Park Superintendent, January 19, 1931—January 26, 1931"; EUFC, *Report*, 5.
31. EUFC, *Report*, 1–3; *Daily News*, January 31, 1931.
32. N. W. Emery to G. W. Clyde, March 27, 1931; EUFC, *Report*, 5.
33. Colcord, p. 15.
34. Community Employment Bureau, "Report on the Unemployment Data of This Office," September 21, 1931; H. S. Chase to Mrs. C. H. Graves (form letter), November 18, 1931.
35. *Morning Press*, June 10 and August 25, 1931.
36. *Morning Press*, October 10, 1931.
37. E. W. Alexander was apparently persuaded to continue serving on the Chase committee; H. M. Stanisfer, Minutes, September 22, 1931; *Morning Press*, November 17, 1931; Romasco, *Poverty of Abundance*, 163.
38. Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee (EURC), *Report on the Second Emergency Unemployment Relief Fund*, June 15, 1932, pp. 24–25.
39. H. S. Chase to Mrs. C. H. Graves (form letter), November 18, 1831.
40. "Emergency Unemployment Relief Appeal," n.d.; H. S. Chase to Graves (form letter), November 18, 1931; H. S. Chase to H. O. Cummings, December 4, 1931; "Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee," April 28, 1932; Emergency Unemployment Relief Fund, "Comparative List of Donations, 1930 and 1931," n.d.
41. G. A. Batchelder to H. S. Chase, October 25, 1931.
42. R. C. Branion to H S. Chase, February 9, 1932; G. W. Clyde to H. S. Chase, September 9, 1932; EURC, *Report*, 25–26.
43. The *Morning Press*, October 22, 1931, said that the committee provided only twelve emergency policemen, but the committee's *Report*, p. 19, probably a more reliable source, put the number at twenty.
44. *Morning Press*, November 18, 1931; Dwight Murphy to H. S. Chase January 22, 1932; *Morning Press*, January 5 and 11, 1932; EURC, *Report*, 18–19.
45. R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, November 19, 1931; EURC, *Report*, 4–8.
46. EURC, *Report*, 9–12.
47. R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, December 17, 1931; *Morning Press*, April 18, 1932.
48. R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, January 22, 1932; Albert M. Camarillo, "The Making of a Chicano Community: A History of the Chicanos in Santa Barbara, California, 1850–1930" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), pp. 222–24.
49. Camarillo, "Making of a Chicano Community," 229–32. Camarillo estimates that between 200 and 250 Mexican noncitizen families were deported from Santa Barbara between 1926 and 1934.
50. *Morning Press*, September 14 and 22, 1931; EURC, *Report*, 27.
51. R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, March 31, 1932; *Morning Press*, April 14, 1932.
52. EURC, *Report*, 26; R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, January 29, 1932.
53. EURC, *Report*, 19–20, 28; R. C. Branion to H. S. Chase, December 11, 1931, and January 22, 1932; *Morning Press*, January 12, 1932.
54. *Morning Press*, April 13, 1932; May 5, 1932.
55. *Morning Press*, May 1, 1932; EURC, *Report*, 8.
56. EURC, *Report*, 30.
57. *Morning Press*, April 27 and 28, 1932; May 2 and 10, 1932.
58. *Morning Press*, June 26, 1932.
59. Tompkins, *Santa Barbara*, 106.

Farm Gentry vs. the Grangers

Conflict in Rural America



Angry small farmers—many of them wheat growers plagued by indebtedness, high interest rates, tax inequities, and the vagaries of the grain trade—swelled Grange membership in the 1870's.

It is an axiom of American history that the organization known as the Grange expressed the collective voice of the farm community in the decades following the Civil War. The harsh criticisms raised by these Patrons of Husbandry against the economic practices of the American corporate economy—in tandem with their persistent efforts to enrich farm life with community and a political voice—won widespread support, created pride among husbandmen, and riveted the attention of later generations of historians on the farm-city tensions of the Gilded Age. To a large extent this focus on the Grange is justified. The Patrons' concerns underscored the deep frustrations felt by millions of farmers amidst the onrush of industrialization, while the Granger's projects represented the first coordinated attack on farm ills endemic to the times.[1]

In post-Civil War California, as across the country, the Grange immediately commanded considerable attention. Angry wheat growers, plagued by indebtedness, high interest rates, tax inequities, and the vagaries of the grain trade, swelled Grange membership roles during the 1870's. With its grandiose economic schemes, fraternal opportunities, and mysterious rituals, the Grange won numerous converts in rural California while it gained widespread recognition in urban circles throughout the state. The Grangers' influence peaked in the late seventies when, in cooperation with the short-lived Workingmen's Party of California, they played a key role in the state drive for constitutional and currency reform. Although ultimately stymied in most fiscal endeavors, Grangers temporarily rallied California farmers in a common cause and, for a time, seemed to be the voice of all farm-dwelling Californians.[2]

Yet, as scholars of rural history are well aware, the Grangers experienced competition for leadership from their own kind. The farm community in the 1870's and 1880's included a fair number of wealthy agriculturists, many of whom championed the precepts of scientific farming and who, more often than not, disagreed with the aggressive reform schemes proposed by the Grangers. While not as conspicuous as their more vocal brethren, members of the farming elite wielded considerable influence on agrarian politics and within the agrarian community. In post-Civil War California, for example, many affluent farmers joined the State Agricultural Society, the oldest and most prestigious farm organization in the state. The Society and its members varied significantly from California Grangers on matters of crucial concern to all West Coast husbandmen. This essay will probe these divergences, as demonstrated in separate responses to contemporary political, economic, and social issues. Its purpose is not to chronicle the history of either organization, but to clarify important differences among agriculturists during an era traditionally identified with Grange activism.[3]

The origins of the California State Agricultural Society date back to 1854 when leading citizens founded an organization to promote farming and to upgrade the state of agriculture. Mining still dominated the mind and economy of Gold Rush California, and what little farming existed was largely haphazard. Early Society members sponsored fairs, held annual meetings to exchange shop talk on crops and cattle, and appointed visiting committees to award prizes for the state's best orchards and farms. Although confronted with formidable obstacles, by the 1860's Society members had accumulated and published valuable data on crops best suited to California soils, developed workable farming techniques for the unique California conditions, and achieved solid advances in the care of livestock. Perhaps their most important accomplishment, however, was the establishment of a tradition of agricultural excellence amidst the overriding and typical frontier indifference to progressive farming procedures.[4]

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Wealthy landed gentry sought conservative political leadership of California's agricultural community. Farmer John M. Benson's harvest outfit in San Joaquin County numbered some two dozen workers.



Then, in the early seventies, a challenge was raised to the prestigious position of the farm elites in the agricultural community. Despite repeated warning signs, most California husbandmen had persisted in raising wheat—the most easily and cheaply produced of frontier crops. By 1870, huge tracts of land in the Sacramento, San Joaquin, and Salinas valleys had been planted to the golden grain, production had boomed, and California farmers had entered world wheat markets with their product. An export economy, however, posed serious problems for the state's isolated wheat farmers. The nearest markets were thousands of miles distant, long sea voyages necessitated special packing and handling of the crop, freight rates proved costly, and at the end of the journey wheat prices fluctuated unpredictably.[5] Realizing that cooperative effort offered the only real protection against the exactions of numerous middlemen in this complex marketing process, California wheat growers began to organize.

In no mood for pious phrases from the State Agricultural Society about the virtues of "scientific farming," many concerned grain growers sought instead to maximize their profits through forced reductions in freight and marketing costs. By 1872, numerous small farmers' clubs had incorporated under the banner of the Farmers' Union—California's first state-level, grass-roots agrarian organization. One year later, as discontentment among growers rose to a fever pitch, the Farmers' Union sought assistance from and was subsequently absorbed by the nationwide Grange organization. By the mid-1870's a state network of 231 subordinate Granges, most in the northern wheatgrowing counties, boasted a total membership of nearly 15,000 persons.[6]

California's Grangers cast a different profile from the state's established farm elite, and the careers of two individuals, each prominent in his group, exemplify some of the differences. William Fisher, treasurer of the State Grange in the mid-seventies, arrived in California from New York during the Gold Rush. After a short stint in



...sons. Outfit.

Elliott

the mines, he farmed near Marysville, then moved a year later to Napa county where he dabbled briefly in purchasing and shipping grain. Fisher eventually acquired a 350-acre farm two miles northwest of Napa where he operated a small fruit orchard, raised wheat, corn, and sheep during the seventies and eighties, and remained active in the Grange until his death in 1898. While not exactly poor, Fisher's dedication to general farming brought him only modest returns.[7]

By contrast, John Boggs, an officer of the State Agricultural Society during the 1880's, traveled to the mines from Missouri in 1849. He soon entered the horse-trading business and within a short time accumulated 400 head. Shrewd land investments brought him a measure of wealth, and by 1880 Boggs owned an 18,000-acre farm in Colusa County valued at $300,000. Specializing in livestock and wheat production, Boggs became one of the best known agriculturists in the state. He eventually owned stock in several banks, served on the Board of Trustees of Stanford University, became Regent of the University of California, and served in the state senate. By any standards, Boggs ranked at the top of his profession,[8] and many of California's farm elite were equally successful.

Not surprisingly, the gentlemen farmers of the State Agricultural Society viewed the rapid rise of the Grange with mixed feelings. As key figures in the improvement of California agriculture, these men understood well the unique marketing problems confronting Pacific Slope farmers and had long stressed the need for a more efficient transportation system. Many Society members, moreover, were themselves heavily involved in commercial wheat farming, and they knew first-hand the complexities and uncertainties of the specialized wheat export trade.[9] Accordingly, several of the agricultural gentry, including wheat entrepreneur John Bidwell, supported the vocal Grange organization and urged farmers who wished to remain solvent to follow suit. They denounced the "wheat-bag trust," usurious interest rates, railroad abuses, and other targets of the agrarians—in short, persons and practices they believed to be injurious to farmers' prosperity.[10]

Most gentlemen farmers, however, rejected the Grange's proposals and recommended other paths to success. The shortest route to prosperity, these Society leaders reaffirmed, lay in applying basic scientific principles to farming. They encouraged farmers to rotate their crops, to deep-plow their fields, to use fertilizers, to intermix breeds of stock in their herds, to experiment with new crops and seeds, and to systematize their operations. Blind adherence to "King Wheat," inattention to scientific methods, and poor farm management would inevitably result in failure, warned Society spokesmen; conversely, quality crops and cattle, and mastery of the techniques needed to produce them, would assure farm profits and economic progress. Crop diversification, they acknowledged, did not mean abandonment of cereal grains; grain production was too important to California's young farm economy, and in fact the Society spokesmen predicted heavy grain production indefinitely. They cautioned growers, however, that the great distance from European wheat markets posed a permanent threat to profits and urged diversification "to the extent of practicability."[11]

In a move which brought them little popularity, California's farm elite further countered the Grange's agrarian programs by stressing character development and adherence to the work ethic. Fortune from the furrow, they maintained, only accrued to those persons who possessed energy and industry and who followed an exacting regimen of work, study, and experimentation. Accordingly, state and county fair speakers liberally sprinkled their remarks with self-help themes, and the Society's annual *Transactions* featured abundant examples of persons who, through diligent effort, progressed

Livestock exhibitions at the state fair were calculated to educat farmers about improving the quality of the rangy California beef cattle

from being hired hands to wealthy farmers. Patience, grit, and self-denial, it was suggested, would eventually bring rewards; routine industriousness, moreover, would develop a strong and noble character. Their message was stated persistently and persuasively—man must first master himself before he can master nature.[12]

Gentlemen farmers, too, spoke critically of idlers and loafers—persons, they said, who expected financial rewards without first undergoing a necessary and difficult apprenticeship. Young men should be willing to toil as field hands, to content themselves with moderate and steady pay, and to look to the future rather than "grumbling to have to rise at daybreak." They chided agrarians for living too fast and for being too extravagant in the tradition of Bonanza Kings.[13] Before farmers could prosper, they asserted, they must learn the great lessons of prudence and economy. These kinds of comments, while perhaps not aimed directly at the Grange, implied criticism of farmers who did not commit all their energies to the improvement of crops and cattle.

California's farmer elite expressed particular disgust with agrarians and other persons who blamed the seventies' economic woes on bankers, capitalists, and railroad barons. Antimonopolist tirades by Denis Kearney and his San Francisco-based Workingmen's Party, for example, evoked fiery responses from usually staid Society members and revealed their deep concern over "factious" and "seditious" social elements who surfaced in the depression of the seventies. Repeated attacks against capital and corporate property, it was feared, would drive manufacturers from the state, increase unemployment, and promote social discord. "Let this war upon capital . . . and corporate interests be kept up and maintained a little while longer," declared Society president Marcus Boruck in 1878, "and the streets of our cities will afford magnificent avenues for grazing cattle."[14] Generally, the farm elite enjoyed close financial ties with the business community, and they resisted efforts to restructure the established order, countering violence and labor strife by reaffirming the tenets of self-help and the free enterprise system.

California's farm elite countered the Grange's agrarian programs by stressing character development and adherence to the work ethic.





Granges also publicized their activities at the state fair, as demonstrated by this 1900's exhibit of crops by Local 12. This future-oriented club increased its visibility by incorporating electric light bulbs into its display.

Although California's agricultural gentry rarely referred to the Grange by name, spokesmen left little doubt they disapproved of Grangers' antibusiness sentiments. As early as 1874, for example, criticism of the Patrons' imbroglios with local merchants surfaced at a meeting of the San Joaquin Valley Agricultural Society.[15] The Grangers' well-publicized efforts to break the Central Pacific Railroad "monopoly," coupled with their vitriolic attacks on "unjust" railroad magnates, upset most of the farm elite even more. During the 1870's California agrarians waged a vigorous campaign to reduce railroad freight fares and to place legislative controls on railroad management. Joined in their crusade by unemployed laborers and hard-pressed merchants, the Grangers obtained passage of a state law in 1876 which prohibited many unpopular railroad practices, including the levying of discriminatory freight rates. The law, however, proved to be ineffectual, and it was followed by creation of a State Railroad Commission with broader rate-setting powers. When in the 1880's the state commission, too, failed to curb railroad excesses to the satisfaction of Patrons, they ultimately sought federal help. The Grange's *Proceedings* between 1880 and 1887, the year the Interstate Commerce Act was passed, are filled with resolutions and committee reports demanding congressional controls on transportation, freight, and tonnage rates and prohibition of the onerous and corrupting free-pass system which provided free transportation to lobbyists and other political allies of railroad companies. Only the federal government, Grangers believed, could check the "ruinous extortions practiced by the railroad monopolists."[16]

Gentlemen farmers viewed the railroad regulations movement with alarm. As prime boosters of the first transcontinental link and firm believers in the close relationship of railroads to farm growth, they resented "malicious insinuations" about railway corporations and feared the negative impact this kind of rhetoric might have on future railroad construction. "The California farmer in particular is indebted to the iron horse," asserted one rail enthusiast at the height of agitation in the late seventies. "It . . . has placed us on a competing scale with the rest of America, with the rest of the World!"[17] Society spokesmen stressed the vital link between railways and farm markets, land values, and population growth, at the same time repeatedly praising the skills

and achievements of the Central Pacific's "Big Four"—Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford (a State Society member), Charles Crocker, and Mark Hopkins. When agrarian regulationists, stymied by legal battles and court delays, boldly proposed public ownership of transportation companies, the farm elite vehemently disagreed. "These fantastic notions," declared Marin County cattle breeder James Shafter, "lead the people to indulge in delusions . . . and throw the honest but uninformed mind into the control of the worst elements of society."[18] As to what the government was expected to do with the companies when it obtained them, Shafter, in concert with most farm elites, remained caustically skeptical.

Society members did seek speedier, less costly delivery (particularly for perishable fruit) to eastern markets during the eighties, but they did so without warring on railroads. They perceived freight rates to be a business matter and urged producers to negotiate directly with carriers. Railroad operators, they asserted, were generally amenable to reason and argument. If operators could be persuaded that lower fares would stimulate farm production and increase carload volume, shipping rates inevitably would drop. Unfortunately, declared one Tehama county agriculturist, "there are persons who will never be content until . . . transportation companies have been cinched."[19] For these persons, reasonable rate reductions would not suffice. To rebut regulationists' arguments, farm elites detailed the rapid rise of eastbound rail shipments during the eighties and credited sharply reduced freight fares to the business acumen of intelligent growers rather than to governmental pressures. As men of wealth and property, agricultural gentry—more so than the average farmer—could accept railroad leaders on neutral terms and appreciate the many difficulties involved in establishing rail connections with distant entrepots. In contradistinction to the Grangers, they perceived railroad directors as contributors to economic growth, and they thus approached transportation issues in a businesslike and non-combative manner.

> *"There are persons who will never be content until . . . transportation companies have been cinched."*

Gentlemen farmers charted an independent course from Grangers on other issues as well. The question of land monopoly triggered heated political battles in Gilded Age California and evoked deep resentment, particularly among small farmers.[20] Millions of mostly uncultivated acres in the state remained in large estates established in the Spanish-Mexican era, and during the sixties and seventies the federal government had allotted huge additional tracts to railroads as subsidies for expanding their lines. These lands were priced considerably above the government minimum level of $1.25 per acre, and purchase remained beyond the reach of all but the best-financed farm seekers. As a result, the small-scale farmer in California, to a much greater extent than farmers elsewhere on the trans-Mississippi farming frontier, had difficulty obtaining a substantial foothold on the land.[21] Throughout the seventies and eighties Grangers vigorously attacked the "machinations of land monopolists," urged tax reforms to discourage property-holding for speculative purposes, and opposed land grants to "voracious" railway corporations. "The public lands are property of the people," they declared, "and should be exclusively held for actual settlers."[22] To Grangers, this concentration of property in a few hands was not only a bar to settlement, but an evil in itself—a form of oppression as villainous as fraudulent business practices.

As early as the 1850's gentlemen farmers had also complained that California's landed estates were a hindrance to the spread of agriculture and a deterrent to immigration, but they remained less willing to criticize land monopolists than the Grangers. Large property holders,

they asserted repeatedly, should not be blamed for accumulating vast holdings. "They buy because no man desiring a home at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre has preempted the desired land," proclaimed one farm brahmin. "What is there wrong in one's complying with such an invitation, and paying the price?"[23]

When antimonopolist forces, including some agrarians, pushed land redistribution schemes in the late seventies, the farming elite took a hard line. Confiscation and disposal of property without the owner's consent, they warned, would be in violation of the federal Constitution. While gentlemen farmers acknowledged, and in some instances deplored, the existence of land monopoly, most thought the problem would eventually correct itself. Property in California, they stated, would in time become so valuable that owners of large estates would be persuaded to sell. In the meantime the problem for newcomers was far from hopeless. Proclaimed one optimist: "Taking everything into consideration, land has been the cheapest of all our commodities. A home . . . is easily within the reach of every head of family who will, with reasonable good fortune and health, set himself to acquire it."[24]

Society leaders also expressed little enthusiasm for tax reform as a method for subdividing lands, and they particularly criticized the single tax plan of California journalist Henry George. "His work conveys to my mind this idea," declared the keynote speaker before the State Agricultural Society in 1882, "a man who, starting to build a pyramid, laid well his foundation , , , and then thereon erected 'The House that Jack Built.' "[25] In general, farm elites adopted a moderate stance on the land question, content to let time and the private sector solve one of the state's most vexing problems. Government interference, some believed, might create more problems than it would solve.

Another sensitive controversy in post-Civil War California—the debate over mining debris—revealed addi-



Hydraulic mining in the 1850's and 1860's produced waste sand and gravel which slowly washed downstream and inundated farm lands. Grangers demanded government controls on the mining industry to prevent future devastations.

tional differences between Grangers and gentlemen farmers. Hydraulic mining operations begun in the mid-fifties produced immense amounts of waste sand and gravel, much of which found its way downstream to clog navigable rivers and cover huge tracts of grass and farming lands with a debris called "slickens." As the years passed, sand and sediment buried whole farms, and economic losses to property owners in portions of the Sacramento Valley mounted steeply during the seventies. Farmers went to court, sought legislative controls to prevent future devastation, and looked for allies.[26] Predictably, Grangers perceived the issue as another example of corporate mismanagement and sided solidly with the aggrieved farmers against the mining industry. For over a decade Patrons passed lengthy resolutions detailing the disastrous impact of hydraulic mining on natural resources and campaigned strenuously for its abolishment. The dumping of mining wastes, they warned, would eventually "render our great valleys uninhabitable." The contest, in their view, was no less than a struggle for survival between the "two great interests of the Pacific Coast"—agriculture and mining. There could be no middle ground nor compromise.[27]

California's farm elite contributed little to the debate until it had reached tempest proportions in the early eighties. Then, as lawsuits multiplied and bitterness soared, they belatedly tried to play a conciliatory role. Society leaders recognized the destructive aspects of hydraulic mining but refused to side publicly with irate Sacramento Valley farmers. Speaking to a state fair audience in 1881, Society president James Shafter maintained, "I am here the advocate of neither [farmers nor miners] and am, as I hope you all are, the friend of any honorable industry." The courts, he continued, would adjust the rights of both parties without injury to either, and "the law of absolute justice would prevail."[28] In the meantime, he said, farmers should remember the incalculable contributions of the mining industry to the state's economy and, ultimately, to the financing of farms and ranches. Without a continual expansion of circulating medium, he implied, agriculture would flounder.

After the courts had banned hydraulic mining practices in 1884 (although the illegal dumping of mining wastes continued for another decade), Society spokesmen sought to smooth over the acrimonious feelings produced by the battle. Neither side, declared politically prominent Aaron A. Sargent, had been moved by malicious motives, but only by the desire to protect their interests. Damage caused by mining debris, he asserted, was "involuntary," although stricken farmers had "respectable premises for their complaints."[29] On balance, members of the farm elite assigned more importance to the pernicious effects of hydraulicking than to miners' rights, but they meticulously presented the miners' side of the issue and expressed regret for the hardships caused by the 1884 decision. To farm brahmins, who were sensitive to the interrelationships between business, manufacturing, and agriculture, the antihydraulicking movement posed a difficult and delicate dilemma. They vacillated on the issue and later lamely wrote off the entire matter as "a misfortune growing out of the nature of things." During the 1890's gentlemen farmers continued to support the mining industry and, in collaboration with mining entrepreneurs, initiated an annual state mining exhibit (including hydraulic mining equipment) at the 1892 state fair.[30]

The farm elite deviated from the standard Grange position on yet another issue of major importance to Gilded Age Californians. During the mid-nineteenth century, thousands of Chinese had entered the state to work in the mines and build the Central Pacific railroad. Tolerated by the white majority as long as jobs and wages were abundant, the Chinese became targets for hostility in the seventies when placer mining declined, railroads were completed, and the economy slumped. Record

Activities at the State Agricultural Society pavilion in Sacramento were sponsored by leading farmers who promoted farming and upgrading the quality of frontier agriculture

> *"Why may we not lay hold of China commercially and convert that vast empire . . . into a boundless and never-failing market for all our surplus flour?"*

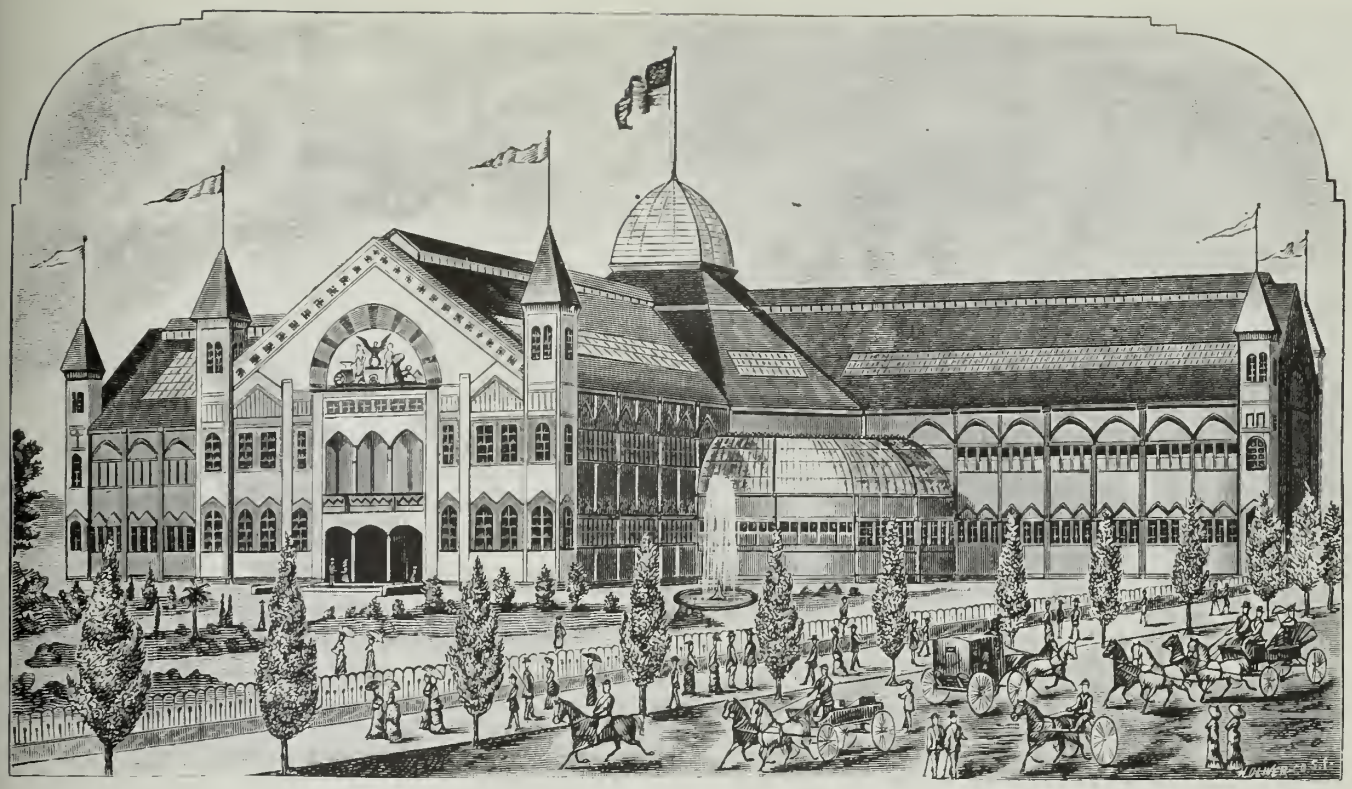
immigration levels during the decade aggravated the problem. Unemployed laborers, distressed farmers, and other malcontents increasingly vented their frustrations on the Orientals, urged their exclusion from the state, and demanded a ban on new immigrants from China. By 1877 the "Chinese Question"—in tandem with railroad, land, and tax issues—dominated California politics and became a central factor in the thrust for state constitutional reform.[31]

California Grangers joined the mounting drive for Chinese exclusion, pressed farmers to dispense with Chinese laborers whenever possible, and catalogued the many "evils" of Oriental immigration. Cheap coolie labor, they perceived, was an aid to monopolists—particularly large landholders and railroads, the arch enemies—and an obstacle to work opportunities for farm youth. In 1877 and again in 1878 the State Grange passed resolutions urging Congress to prevent further importation "of this scourge to western humanity and civilization." To Grange leaders the Chinese immigrants represented an "overshadowing curse which are sapping the foundation of our prosperity, the dignity of labor, and the glory of our State."[32]

While California's farm elite acknowledged the problems posed by a heavy influx of Chinese, they usually defended coolie labor against the onslaught of critics during the peak years of anti-Chinese sentiment. Cheap wages, they argued, stimulated both intensive and extensive agricultural development, as well as the construction of needed railroads. Further, they stated repeatedly, the Chinese had little to do with the current economic difficulties. Numerous factors had caused the present downturn, most importantly the flooding of California markets with cheaply produced eastern products. The unrealistically high wage demands of white workers in California, they agreed, forced employers to seek a cheaper labor source, but the impact of Orientals upon the price of labor was less than claimed. "The writers dip their pens in gall, and slash away diatribes against that bugbear John Chinaman, and would have us believe he is the plague of the nation," grumbled a Society officer in 1877. "They simply argue from one set of facts and ignore another. . . ."[33]

The farm elite shrewdly went on to utilize the "Chinese Question" to chide the much-despised supporters of the antimonopolist Workingmens' movement and to promote their favored self-help beliefs. They praised the Chinese for their steady work habits, uncomplaining manner, and their numerous construction accomplishments, including the massive flood-control dykes in the Sacramento Valley which were crucial adjuncts to the land reclamation process.

The agricultural gentry advanced additional arguments in support of the harassed Chinese. Americans, they asserted, had traditionally defended the right of individuals to select their own domicile; the exclusion of Orientals (though ineligible for citizenship) would negate this time-hallowed practice. Then, too, the constant and irritating comparisons between whites and Chinese, warned one orator, tended "to lower the self-respect and to degrade the character. . . . Our tendencies are strong enough already to lapse and decay; we need no augmentation in that direction."[34] In a more pragmatic vein, farm brahmin John Bidwell saw friendship with China as a concomitant to the enlargement of California's Pacific Ocean commerce in wheat. "Why may we not lay hold of China commercially and convert that vast empire . . . into a boundless and never-failing market for all our surplus flour?" he wondered. But first, harass-



ment of the Chinese must cease, and amicable relations with China must be cultivated.[35]

Two factors influenced the gentlemen farmers' stance on the "Chinese Question." First, they believed cheap Chinese labor to be essential for profitable, large-scale farming in California. High land and transportation costs necessitated low wages for farm workers, lest California products be priced out of eastern and European markets. Even a cursory reading of the sources reveals the solidly economic orientation of the farm elite's thinking on the issue. Bidwell's candid admission that future market opportunities in the Pacific were tied to friendly relations with the Chinese underscores the point. Secondly, the agricultural gentry linked strong animosity towards the Chinese with the antimonopolist movement, and, accordingly, they defended Oriental labor as part of their countermove to thwart antimonopolistic demands. The Chinese, in effect, became pawns in this power struggle between the "ins" and their challengers. Rarely did the farm elite praise Chinese culture or Chinese immigrants as persons.

To be sure, California's farm gentry (most of whom were native-born) demonstrated the same nativist sentiments held by millions of American citizens in the Gilded Age. For example, Society spokesmen at various times during the post-Civil War decades described people of Spanish descent as "lazy," the Chinese as "an alien, heathen population," Italians and Egyptians as "slow plodding people," and Mexicans as "an authentic case of arrested race development." Strikes and violent protests, commonplace in the late seventies, were perceived by one orator as "devilish foreign-born schemes of idle, vicious scum." Conversely, Anglo-Saxons, proclaimed Society president Frederick Cox in 1892, constituted a powerful race. Another farm brahmin boasted to a receptive Society gathering in 1886, "Europe produces . . . nothing equal to the American citizen. We indeed are a favored people." Members of the farm elite repeatedly referred to the superiority of the New World over the Old and unabashedly promoted the tenets of Americanism and patriotism. Immigrants were welcome, indeed needed, in post-Civil War California, but it was generally assumed they came "to find themselves freed from degrading competitions to which they have been subjected elsewhere." Egalitarianism, in short, played no part in the farm elite's defense of the Chinese.[36]

Another point of departure between gentlemen farmers and Grangers pertained to their divergent atti-



Farm equipment manufacturers advertised their improved machines at the 1903 state fair in Sacramento.

tudes towards agriculture as a profession and husbandmen as individuals. California Patrons, like their associates across the nation, offered countless testimonials to the innate nobility of the yeoman farmer and to farming as the primary vocation of man. When husbandry fails, Patrons habitually avowed, the state and nation fails, "but in its support and elevation" the state and nation prosper. In Jeffersonian spirit, California agrarians eulogized "tillers of the soil" and considered them an important bulwark against American decadence.[37]

Gentlemen farmers, too, extolled the virtues and dignity of country life and supported the belief that agriculture was a noble calling. They rejected the premise, however, that residence on a farm automatically endowed a person with unique qualities and a special role in society. On the contrary, they claimed, too many California husbandmen neglected to maintain properly their homes and farms, were ignorant of even the simplest husbandry techniques, and did not understand the true philosophy of farming. As a result, they lamented, many farms were in disrepair, California farmsteads ranked unfavorably with homesteads back east, and rural elegance was mostly a myth. Members of the elite, in short, were quick to criticize and slow to praise the farming operations of their colleagues. Farming is a science, they monotoned, and only skilled craftsmen—as in any profession—deserved the applause and respect of society. "The true farmer is not content to merely make a living, or to merely get rich," affirmed one purist; "he has a noble ambition to excel in his vocation."[38] Mastery of one's job and the quest for perfection counted more with the farm elite than did a man's occupation.

Finally, farm elites and Grangers disagreed on the proper structure for formal agricultural education in California. Society leaders, key figures in the formation of the University of California in the late sixties, urged the university's infant College of Agriculture to offer a mix of theoretical and practical courses with a solid emphasis on the agricultural sciences. Farming, they asserted, was an art *and* a science, and only by studying it "in all its departments" could one hope to prosper, particularly in a state with such varied resources as California. (As self-proclaimed "scientific agriculturists" they could hardly do otherwise.) Farm gentry, moreover, foresaw a major research role for the "Ag College." Much like agricultural scientists of a later era, they perceived the young state university as a center for the formulation and testing of innovative farming techniques.[39]

Grange leaders, on the other hand, generally stressed the importance of a "practical" education and the training of students who could handle a plow and turn a straight furrow. When, in the mid-1870's, Grangers decided that the College of Agriculture's curriculum was too academically oriented, they berated university officials, charged the Board of Regents with "unfitness, incompetency, and bad management," and demanded greater emphasis on training in the mechanic arts. The resulting furor led to the firing of the university's first professor of

agriculture, Ezra S. Carr, and to the departure of the university's second president, Daniel Coit Gilman, to greener pastures in the East.[40]

The farm elite, like the Grangers, *did* criticize the Board of Regents for the manner in which they administered the congressional grant for agricultural education. The intent of the Morrill Act of 1862, they maintained, was to foster the teaching of agriculture and to stimulate the development of agricultural knowledge. Yet, university officials interpreted the term agriculture to include a host of subjects including classical studies. Thus, according to Society leaders, the Regents had improperly diverted a large portion of the land-grant funds to non-agricultural areas. While elite farmers had no quarrel with the classics, they resented the use of Morrill Act funds for this purpose.[41]

One solution, acceptable to farm elites and Grangers alike, was to separate agricultural training from the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Such a move, it was argued, would increase enrollments, reduce the temptation for farm youth to pursue other professions, free the "Ag College" from outside influences, and enhance the quality of the agricultural program. Yet, to members of the farm elite separation did not mean complete withdrawal from the university. They recognized the prestige and value of a university education for farm youth and sought only to remove the College of Agriculture's instructional program to a rural site away from the clutches of academic empire builders.[42] The State Grange, on the other hand, urged that the agricultural college be "completely divorced" from the university and that administrative controls on tax-supported higher education be fundamentally reorganized.[43] Farm elites, in short, would effect reforms within the university framework; Grangers would start afresh.

The distinction proved crucial for the future of the College of Agriculture and the university. Without the farm elite's support, Grangers failed to achieve wholesale revision of the university structure. Later, when the University Farm School was opened at Davisville in 1909—due in large part to the efforts of the Society's secretary, Peter J. Shields—its instructional program combined the principles with the practices of agriculture, the essential blend favored by California's farm elite.



This forward-looking, if over-ambitious, farmer's experiment in 1902 with diverse and intensive farming resulted in a dense carpet of strawberries, dewberries, and walnuts.

The curriculum of the proposed "Ag College" at Davis became a point of contention between the "scientific" gentry and the "practical" Grangers (photo c.1925).



To what factors can the divergence between gentleman farmers and Grange leaders on major issues in the seventies and eighties be attributed? Certainly both groups desired agricultural growth, greater financial rewards for husbandmen, and farm improvements. Both the farming elite and the Grangers, moreover, perceived the emerging agricultural industry with its immence economic potential to be crucial to the state's future development. Gentlemen farmers, however, defined improvements and growth in terms of quality crops and cattle, prudent adjustments to soils and climate, experimentation with new plants and livestock, widespread adherence to ethics of self-help and work, and the adoption of "scientific farming" techniques. They fixed their attention on the farm (and ranch) and sought success through the development of agricultural skills, versatility, and knowledge. Granger agrarians, on the other hand, focused their attention on outsiders, "monopolists" who deliberately or inadvertently made decisions that demolished opportunities for "average" farmers. Railroad barons and other large-scale capitalists had to be harnessed, they affirmed, before husbandmen could thrive and prosper. This perspective led to militant rhetoric and an aggressive stance on major political issues. Thus, while farm elites and Grangers could agree on broad, fundamental objectives, they defined and pursued them in a significantly different fashion.

Socio-economic data furnish additional clues to the split in the California countryside. Gentlemen farmers, for example, enjoyed a greater degree of financial security than Grangers. The holdings of State Agricultural Society officers who farmed or raised cattle ranked far above those of Grange leaders in farm size, production value, and farm value. Federal manuscript census data for 1870 and 1880 indicate that Society officers' farms compared to those of State Grange officers as follows: a median acreage of 1220 acres compared to 319 acres; a median production value of $5,625 compared to $3,200; and a median value of $38,875 compared to $9,333.

Clear distinctions between the two groups appeared in other socio-economic indices as well. In 1870 a typical California Grange leader, for example, reported less than one-sixth the assessed valuation (mean values) of a typical member of the farm elite's personal property in 1870 and about 40 percent of their real property.[44] Gentlemen farmers, moreover, were as apt to live in town (usually Sacramento or San Francisco) as on a farm. A commanding 42 per cent in the period between 1865 and 1890 resided in or near Sacramento, the home of the state fair and the Agricultural Society. Conversely, 93 per cent of the Grange officers lived on farms.



California's farm elite were far from "average" in other respects as well. Data from voting registers, newspapers, legislative blue books, county histories, and archival materials reveal that over half of the Society's officers in the period from 1865 to 1890 had attended or completed college. One of four served in the state legislature in the post-Civil War era, and one of two held a local government office. Most also claimed membership in prominent social organizations and commanded recognition as community leaders. Unquestionably, members of the farm elite were better equipped than Grangers to handle the financial chaos and abrupt economic shifts that characterized Gilded Age California. Urban-based gentlemen farmers also intermingled to a much greater extent than Grangers with political, professional, and business leaders, *i.e.*, men who articulated the views held by capitalists and the well-to-do and who more often than not supported the political, social, and economic status quo. These contacts certainly sensitized the farm gentry to the complex interrelationships between agriculture, business, and mining and cooled their enthusiasm for the Grangers' simplistic antimonopolist programs.

Status considerations, too, reinforced the gulf between Grangers and farm gentry. Each considered their organization to be the proper leader of the farming community, and each was convinced that they had the true remedy for farm ills. The result was a friendly but spirited rivalry that reached a peak during the tumult of the late seventies. For example, Grangers declared that only "honest agriculturists" were wanted in their organization, and they chided wealthy farmers who benefited

from the Grangers' labors but who "selfishly . . . stand on the outside of the gates."[45] Farm elites, conversely, openly criticized the Patrons' business schemes and steadfastly disassociated themselves from their antimonopolist uproar in California. For most farm brahmins, to be linked with the bellicose Grange was an unpleasant prospect. Few joined the organization or participated in the Patrons' multifarious activities.[46]

To declare that California's farm leaders disagreed on key issues in the post-Civil War period is hardly a revelation. Yet most historical studies, by inference or by design, continue to portray the Grange as the one voice of rural America in the 1870's. Unquestionably, Grangers expressed the beliefs of millions of rural people, but the Gilded Age farm community was not a homogeneous entity. In California, leaders of the State Agricultural Society differed significantly with the Grangers on the railroad question, existing patterns of land ownership, hydraulic mining practices, labor and immigration issues, farming as a profession, and the techniques and content of agricultural education. The maze of opinions advanced by farm spokesmen in the twentieth century only underscores the continuing complexity of identifying the "collective voice" of the farm community.

All the photographs are from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. See for example, Solon J. Buck, *The Granger Movement* (Cambridge, 1913), and the more recent work by S. Sven Nordin, *Rich Harvest: A History of the Grange, 1867-1900* (Jackson, 1974). While no recent book-length study has appeared about California Grangers in this era, Rodman Paul and Clarke A. Chambers have treated selected aspects of the subject. See Rodman Paul, "The Great California Grain War: The Grangers Challenge the Wheat King," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXVII (November, 1958), and Clarke A. Chambers, *California Farm Organizations: A Historical Study of the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the Associated Farmers 1929-1941* (Berkeley, 1952), pp. 9-13.
2. *Official Report of the California State Grange*, 1873 (San Francisco, 1873), pp. 5-6; *ibid.*, 1878, pp. 27-30; *ibid.*, 1879, pp. 5, hereafter cited as Grange *Proceedings*; Chambers, *California Farm Organizations*, 9-12; Rodman Paul, "The Great California Grain War," 342-345.
3. For an incisive discussion of large-scale farmers in American agriculture, see Morton Rothstein, "The Big Farm: Abundance and Scale in American Agriculture," *Agricultural History*, XLIX (October, 1975): pp. 583-597.
4. *The Statutes of California 1854* (San Francisco, 1854), chapter 100, pp. 163-165. By 1859 Society membership numbered 1,100. In 1863 the affairs of the Society were entrusted to a Board of Agriculture consisting of a president and nine directors. *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society 1879* (Sacramento, 1879), pp. 185, 194, hereafter cited as CSAS *Transactions*. For material on the first state fair, see "Warren's Two Private Fairs Started It," typescript in the Hal Higgins Collection, Hal Higgins Library of Agricultural Technology, University of California at Davis; Lyman M. King, "Fairs of Yesterday," *California Journal of Development*, XX (August, 1930): 22, 37; and Charles W. Paine, "Early Days of California State Fairs," *The Grizzly Bear*, XXXIX (August, 1926): 6, supplement 1.
5. Rodman Paul, "The Wheat Trade between California and the United Kingdom," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLV (December, 1958: 391-392, 396-398; Morton Rothstein, "A British Firm on the American West Coast, 1869-1914," *Business History Review*, XXXVII (Winter, 1963): 395-396.
6. *Proceedings of the California Farmers' Union* (San Francisco, 1873), pp. 2, 5, 13-15; Ezra Carr, *The Patrons of Husbandry on the West Coast* (San Francisco, 1875), pp. 81, 103, 131; Chambers, *California Farm Organizations*, 9-10.
7. Thomas Gregory, et al, *History of Solano and Napa Counties California* (Los Angeles, 1912), p. 345. While a few Grange leaders owned considerable property at the time of their involvement with the Grange (see for example, Rodman Paul, "The Great California Grain War," 344), Fisher more closely approximates the norm.
8. Justus H. Rogers, *Colusa County: Its History and Resources* (Orland, California, 1891), pp. 371-376.
9. Federal census data indicate that nine of forty-five Society officers between 1865 and 1890 raised substantial amounts of wheat during the 1870's.
10. See, for example, CSAS *Transactions*, 1872, pp. 5-7; *ibid.*, 1870, p. 79. Bidwell was an active participant in the Farmers' Union and the Grange. See *Bidwell Diaries*, California State Library, Sacramento, VII, September 25, 1872; *ibid.*, VIII, October 25, 1873; Grange *Proceedings*, 1882, p. 44.
11. CSAS *Transactions*, 1875, p. 10; *ibid.*, 1881, pp. 32-33, 286, 393.
12. *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 253; *ibid.*, 1877, p. 102.
13. Declared one Society member in the mid-seventies, "We are

unable to forget the days of forty-nine. We are blinded with the glitter of the costly trappings of our Bonanza Kings." CSAS *Transactions*, 1876, p. 80.

14. *Ibid.*, 1878, p. 101.
15. *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 624.
16. Grange *Proceedings*, 1874, pp. 10-11; *ibid.*, 1881, pp. 17-18; *ibid.*, 1882, p. 20. Passage of the Interstate Commerce Act did not terminate the Grangers' concern with railroads. Warned past-Grange Master J. V. Webster in 1892, "Like a tiger in silent waiting, it is the policy of the Southern Pacific railroad people to stir only when there is big game in sight." CSAS *Transactions*, 1892, p. 441.
17. CSAS *Transactions*, 1878, p. 113.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
19. *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 203. See also *ibid.*, 1885, pp. 178-179.
20. Of course, small farmers in California during the 1870's and 1880's commonly owned larger farms (statewide average: 482 acres in 1870, 462 acres in 1880) than small farmers elsewhere in the United States. See *Abstract of the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, 1896), pp. 95-96.
21. Gilbert C. Fite, *The Farmers' Frontier 1865-1900* (New York, 1966), pp. 162-163; Chambers, *California Farm Organizations*, 9. The number of farms in California grew from 18,716 in 1860 to 52,894 in 1890; conversely, Kansas farms in the same period increased from 10,400 to 166,617. *Abstract of the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, 1896), pp. 95-96.
22. Grange *Proceedings*, 1881, p. 17. See also *ibid.*, 1875, p. 21.
23. CSAS *Transactions*, 1878, p. 112; *ibid.*, 1859, pp. 361-363.
24. *Ibid.*, 1876, pp. 78, 126-127.
25. *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 29.
26. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1890), VII: 645-648; Robert L. Kelley, *Gold vs. Grain: The Hydraulic Mining Controversy in California's Central Valley* (Glendale, 1959), pp. 14-15.
27. Grange *Proceedings*, 1881, pp. 20-21; *ibid.*, 1882, p. 83; *ibid.*, 1879, p. 13.
28. CSAS *Transactions*, 1881, pp. 12-13; *ibid.*, 1883, p. 141.
29. *Ibid.*, 1885, pp. 574-575.
30. *Ibid.*, 1892, pp. 105-106.
31. Elmer C. Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, 1939), pp. 10-11, 16; Warren A. Beck and David A. Williams, *California: A History of the Golden State* (Garden City, 1972), p. 251.
32. Grange *Proceedings*, 1877, pp. 48, 55; *ibid.*, 1878, p. 28; Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement*, 32-33.
33. CSAS *Transactions*, 1877, pp. 100-101; *ibid.*, 1878, pp. 122-124. For evidence that Society leaders continued to hire Chinese laborers well into the 1880's, see "Anti-Chinese Club of Chico to John Bidwell," March 1, 1886, *Bidwell Papers*, Box 64, California State Library, Sacramento.
34. CSAS *Transactions*, 1878, p. 124.
35. *Ibid.*, 1881, pp. 34-35.
36. *Ibid.*, 1870, pp. 83, 87; *ibid.*, 1874, p. 202; *ibid.*, 1881, pp. 305, 394; *ibid.*, 1886, pp. 183, 185, 695; *ibid.*, 1887, p. 232; *ibid.*, 1892, p. 90. Forty of the forty-five Society officers in this study were native-born.
37. Grange *Proceedings*, 1876, p. 34; *ibid.*, 1881, p. 5.
38. CSAS *Transactions*, 1881, p. 311; *ibid.*, 1877, pp. 103, 106-107.
39. Verne A. Stadtman, ed., *The Centennial Record of the University of California* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 21-22; CSAS *Transactions*, 1866, p. 75; *ibid.*, 1871, pp. 421-422; *ibid.*, 1877, p. 106; *ibid.*, 1881, p. 14; *ibid.*, 1884, pp. 165-166.
40. Grange *Proceedings*, 1874, pp. 49, 53; Verne A. Stadtman, *The University of California, 1868-1968* (Berkeley, 1970), p. 69; Stadtman, ed., *The Centennial Record of the University of California*, p. 12.
41. CSAS *Transactions*, 1881, p. 16. For details on the management of the state's agricultural college lands, see Paul W. Gates, "California's Agricultural College Lands," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXX (May, 1961): 103-122.
42. CSAS *Transactions*, 1881, pp. 89-91; *ibid.*, 1883, p. 143.
43. Grange *Proceedings*, 1877, p. 47; Stadtman, *The University of California*, 71-72.
44. The mean value of farm elites' personal property in 1870 was $31,777 and State Grange officers', $4,981; farm elites' real property was assessed at $35,965 and State Grange officers', $15,305. Federal census data were located for thirty-nine of the forty-five persons who served as Society officers between 1865 and 1890 and for forty-one of the forty-nine persons who held office in the State Grange between 1873 and 1890.

    While it is true, as Rodman Paul has pointed out, that some of California's early Grange leaders were men of economic substance, the officer group taken as a whole ranks considerably below leaders of the State Agricultural Society. See Rodman Paul, "The Great California Grain War," 344.
45. Grange *Proceedings*, 1876, p. 14; *ibid.*, 1882, pp. 35-36, 39; *Pacific Rural Press*, October 1, 1881.
46. For example, only four of forty-five Society leaders were members of the State Grange during the 1870's and 1880's.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Pictorial lithographs of California produced during the nineteenth century have only just begun to attract the wide-spread recognition which they deserve for their artistic merit and their significance as unusual historical documents. They form a remarkable body of work which illustrates an eventful period of California's history and culture as could no other medium, with the exception of photography. However, some of the lithographs' most interesting scenes and subjects are those which were either impossible to record with the camera, or for which no comparable quantity of photographic images exist. Noteworthy in the former category are the ubiquitous bird's-eye views of cities, towns, and mining camps of the frontier regions; the latter category encompasses, among other subjects, the fantastic human spectacle of the Gold Rush which reached its hysterical peak while photography was still in its early stages.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 initiated an almost instantaneous transformation of the once tranquil, semi-wilderness on the western edge of the continent into the focus of one of the greatest migrations in American history. Among those who hurried to claim their share of the bounty were artists and craftsmen, many of whom initially came to seek their fortunes in the gold fields but soon turned to artwork or other more profitable enterprises to secure dependable incomes. In the bustling commercial center of San Francisco, lithographic publishing houses were established about 1850, and the art flourished steadily into the late nineteenth century when it was displaced by other newer processes as the primary mode of popular visual communication. Pioneer lithographers such as Joseph Britton and J. J. Rey, who established themselves in San Francisco in 1852, were soon followed by talented artists, lithographers, and printers like Charles Kuchel, Emil Dresel, Arthur and Charles Nahl, Louis Nagel, George H. Baker, C. B. Gifford, Edward Bosqui, and others.

A quick, versatile, and inexpensive medium, lithog-

Miners At Work With Long Toms (*c. 1851*). *Artist unknown. Lithographed by Justh & Quirot, San Francisco. Published by Cooke & Le Count, San Francisco. 10" x 7½". Letter Sheet.*



MINERS AT WORK WITH LONG TOMS



"from the place we hear about..."

a descriptive checklist of pictorial lithographs and letter sheets in the CHS collection



Santa Cruz. Cal. (*n.d.*). *Artist unknown. Lithographed and printed by Britton & Rey, San Francisco. Published by A. Hatch & Co., San Francisco. 18 7/8 x 31 5/8". Colored lithograph.*

raphy was widely employed to produce hundreds of views of California's cities and towns, mining camps, scenic wonders, current events (with humorous and satirical comment), and genre scenes of daily life, especially in the mines. Californians interested in their state will find a variety of different kinds of information in the lithographs housed at the California Historical Society, which comprise one of the largest public collections of these fine works.[1]

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the primary media for the reproduction of pictorial images in multiple copies for public distribution or for book illustration had been the intaglio and relief processes of engraving, etching, and woodcut. These processes had their limitations, however, both in the speed at which copies could be produced and in the total number of good imprints that could be taken from a single plate or block. The principles of lithography were discovered in 1798, only fifty years before the California Gold Rush, by Alois Senefelder, a Bavarian playwright seeking an inexpensive method of reproducing his manuscripts. Like many useful inventions, his was accidental, but it almost immediately revolutionized the manufacture of printed materials. Lithography was not introduced into America until 1819 (via New York), but the medium soon became a popular alternative to earlier techniques because pictures could be produced cheaply and in large numbers. Its only nineteenth-century rivals were wood and steel engravings.

Victorian Americans evidenced an insatiable appetite for pictures of all kinds: portraits, pioneer scenes, political cartoons, city views, sporting events, natural disasters, parades, battles, popular literary scenes, nature, architectural renderings, and rural life were all popular subjects for decorative wall hangings and keepsakes, or for illustrations in periodicals and books. Lithography also eventually lent itself to the commercial production of items such as labels, trade cards, posters, postcards, sheet music, and certificates.

Understanding the lithographic process itself aids in understanding the popularity of the medium. Lithography is based on the natural antipathy of oil and water. An image is drawn with a greasy crayon or ink on the smooth, porous surface of a special limestone slab (today, usually a zinc or aluminum plate). The image is chemically "fixed" with acid, and a roller covered with a viscous oil-based ink is passed over the surface of the stone. The oily ink adheres only to the greasy drawn image and is repelled by the remaining wet areas. When a sheet of paper is laid over the stone and run through a press, the image is transferred from the stone to the paper. The stone is re-inked for each additional impression, and the potential number of imprints is almost limitless. Later, when the edition had been completed, the surface of the



valuable limestone was ground down to provide a new face for another drawing. The highly-skilled printers of the San Francisco school preferred to apply colored tones, when they were deemed desirable, by use of additional stones prepared with colored inks, carefully registered for clarity. They tended to use a restricted palette of basic black with beige or light brown, gray-orange, or blue. The applications of bright watercolor washes by hand, which was popular in the East among firms such as Currier and Ives, were considered extraneous to the art of California printing.[2]

Separately published lithographs were issued in numbers from several hundred to a thousand or more. Precise information about the numbers within editions and the prices for which the prints were sold is notoriously scarce due to the destructive fire of 1906 in San Francisco which consumed the business records of virtually all of California's lithograph firms. Prints published elsewhere in the United States, however, sold for between six and fifty cents on one end of the scale, and between three and five dollars on the other. The same was probably true in California.

Regardless of the original number of prints issued by California lithographers, relatively few have survived. Almost all California views, and particularly those of San Francisco, remain in numbers less than ten, and several are represented by a single copy.[3] Many prints escaping the fire of 1906 were destroyed by time,

Sundry Amusements in the Mines
(n.d.). Artist unknown. Lithographed and published by Joseph Britton & J. J. Rey, San Francisco. Approx. 7" x 10". Letter Sheet.

neglect, and improper handling. The few lithographs which exist in collections today owe their survival in part to the fact that they were usually printed on high-quality rag paper which offered some resistance to the damage caused by excessive exposure to light, acidic mount boards, glues, tapes, and other poor framing techniques.

Only the foresight of a small group of discriminating collectors has resulted in the preservation of the California lithographs which are now at the California Historical Society. Foremost among these individuals were C. Templeton Crocker of San Francisco, whose books and art collection formed the nucleus of the reactivated California Historical Society in the 1920's; Roger D. Lapham, Sr., president of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, who donated part of his collection to CHS; Frederick Clift of the Clift Hotel in San Francisco, whose collection was purchased in 1937; and Harry T. Peters, Sr., author of *America on Stone* and *California on Stone*, whose collection of pictorial letter sheets and California prints is now on permanent loan to CHS from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.[4] Finally, special tribute must be paid to Dr. Joseph A. Baird, Jr., both for his organization of the CHS collection and for his pioneering work in cataloguing the California pictorial letter sheets, San Francisco views, and the Robert B. Honeyman, Jr., Collection of lithographs at the Bancroft Library at the University of California. His scholarly studies are of importance to anyone interested in the art history of California or the history of lithography in America.

The Fine Art Collection at California Historical Society contains approximately 235 letter sheets and approximately 500 prints representing the work of most of California's artists, lithographers, and printers. Too numerous to list, they are outlined according to the most important subject areas and illustrated with specific examples.

Information about the production of each print is not easily assembled. The artist whose drawing served as the basis for the lithograph may or may not be the lithographer who drew the image on the stone. The lithographer may be identical with the printer; he may also have published the print. Combinations of these roles vary, and accurately assigning full responsibility for the creation of a print is difficult. Titles are listed as they appear on the print. Further information about each print is listed when known.

I. *Letter Sheets*—Some of the most vivid, lively, humorous, and historically important images of California during the Gold Rush era are preserved in the form of pictorial letter sheets. As the name implies, letter sheets were pieces of stationery, usually about 10½ x 8½ inches when folded in half, with a lithographed vignette or a series of small pictures on the front, most often at the top. The earliest date from 1849, and they seemed to have enjoyed consistent popularity until 1869 when their production virtually ceased. They were sold for a few cents to newly arrived immigrants who could mail them home and thereby convey something of their new surroundings—"the place we hear about—" to family and friends.

In style and quality of execution, letter sheets vary widely. Some were carefully drafted renderings based on daguerreotype views or portraits, while many others were drawn in the quick, casual manner of the artist as reporter. Resourceful publishers found new material for letter sheet subjects by transferring existing wood engraved or cut illustrations to the stone. Literally thousands of these letter sheets were printed—some of them in series—by such firms as Britton & Rey, Quirot and Company, and James M. Hutchings. Hutchings claimed, for example, that he had printed and sold 97,000 copies of the well-known letter sheet, *The Miner's Ten Commandments*, between 1853 and 1854. Yet today, letter sheets, like larger lithographic prints,

SUNDRY AMUSEMENTS IN THE MINES.



A SUNDAYS AMUSEMENTS.



A DAILY PLEASURE.



OCCUPATION FOR RAINY DAYS.



A PLEASANT SURPRISE.

are rare items, particularly those without letters inscribed upon them.

Letter sheet subjects included views of San Francisco —the ship-crowded harbor, Telegraph Hill, Yerba Buena Island—from a variety of vantage points. Others depicted sites within the city—Montgomery Street storefronts, Mission Dolores (the only mission known to be pictured in a letter sheet), the Chinese Buddhist Temple, or the Grand Plaza. Many displayed views of towns and mining camps to the north and east—Sacramento, Nevada City, Placerville, Goodyear's Bar, Scoopers Ranch, and Weaverville, to name but a few. The hardships endured and the adventures of daily life in the mining camps were, of course, another popular source of illustrations. Letter sheet titles such as *The Miner's Lamentation*, *A Fight with a Grizzly*, *Dividing the Pile*, and *Gambling in the Mines* indicate the subject range.

Letter sheets often chronicled events while they were still "hot" and were produced within a day or two of the latest conflagration, earthquake, sinking ship, execution, Vigilance rally, parade, or festival. Some of the most charming, however, are the humorous sketches, such as *Adventures of Mr. Greenhorn on his arrival in San Francisco—The First Day*, *Mr. Gringo's Experience as a Rauchero*, and *A Bachelor in a Tight Place*, which made light of the travails of the Argonaut far from the comforts of home.

In his book, *California's Pictorial Letter Sheets, 1849–1869* (San Francisco: David Magee, 1967), Joseph A. Baird, Jr., has catalogued 343 letter sheets produced in



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California and their variations. His book, which is richly illustrated with full-size reproductions, offers a full description of each sheet, including a list of the collections which hold copies. This book is recommended as a guide to the letter sheets contained in the California Historical Society collection.

II. *Urban Views*—During the rapid development of California and the American West, hundreds of newly-established towns, settlements, supply centers, and camps provided abundant subject matter for popular city views. Not only do these views possess substantial worth as historical documents, but many also represent the finest artistic output of the San Francisco school. Far from being a backwater refuge for mediocre talent, San Francisco attracted superior artists, lithographers, and printers from the very beginning. City views produced in San Francisco between 1850 and 1880 were hailed for the beauty of their draughtsmanship and the excellent quality of their printing, even by venerable eastern establishments in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Such urban views, especially those of San Francisco, comprise a significant segment of the California Historical Society's collection.

The earliest lithographic view of the area was probably the one made of the Presidio of San Francisco in 1816 by Louis Choris, a Russian explorer and artist, which was published in his *Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde* in Paris six years later. The first urban views showing the effect of the Gold Rush on the California landscape came from the presses of eastern printers and publishers. Per-

View of Sacramento City, As It Appeared During the Great Inundation in January 1850. *Drawn by George W. Casilear, New York, and Henry Bainbridge, San Francisco. Lithographed and published by Napoleon Sarony, New York, 1850.*

haps the best-known early panorama of the new metropolis of San Francisco was one "drawn on the spot" by Henry Firks in 1849 and published by Thomas Sinclair in Philadelphia. CHS has several of the variations of this print which were slightly revised and reissued by other publishers. Charles Kuchel, later a partner in the San Francisco firm of Kuchel and Dresel, created an early *View of San Francisco, 1850*, while he worked for the prestigious Philadelphia lithographer, Peter S. Duval. This print was published by Henry Bill of New York, who issued San Francisco views regularly in his *History of the World* in 1851, 1852, 1854, 1855, and 1856, copies of which are at CHS. Likewise, in a rare print of Sacramento, the hub of the mining industry was shown "as appeared during the Great Inundation in January, 1850" by George W. Casilear and Henry Bainbridge, lithographed and published by Napoleon Sarony in New York—but not before Captain Sutter himself and Alcalde J. L. Thomas had attested to its veracity.

Tantalizing tales of California had already preceded these pictures, with the result that curious Americans and Europeans alike craved illustrations of the mythical El Dorado. One of the finest prints produced for foreign consumption is a luminous colored rendering of *San Francisco in 1851* by F. S. Marryat, published in London by Henry Squire. In this view, miners, merchants, Chinese, and chaste ladies wander in the quiet of morning. The rising sun glints off the Bay and bathes the dusty streets and wooden buildings with a soft warm light. One wonders whether this idealized portrayal convinced many Englishmen to set sail for California. Another striking lithograph of *San Francisco from California Street in 1855* was printed in Paris for a New York publisher. Using a daguerreotype as the model for this work, an anonymous artist created a crystal clear vista of the city with exquisite lines and minute detail, yielding an effect more often expected from the engraver's burin than the lithographer's crayon.

Views of San Francisco, undoubtedly the most widely pictured city in the West, were plentiful, and there are at least fifty handsome examples (in addition to specific sites and street scenes) in the CHS collection. Interested readers should peruse *Historic Lithographs of San Francisco* by Joseph A. Baird, Jr., and Edwin C. Evans (San Francisco: Burger & Evans, 1972). This exhaustive study, a lavishly-illustrated limited edition, documents and describes over two hundred views of San Francisco. The splendid reproductions, in the original size, offer the advantage of seeing a selection of rare prints from several public and private collections within the confines of one volume.

Many urban views were termed bird's-eye views because they were drawn as though the artist were standing on a high elevation or suspended in mid-air above the site. While the artist would not have possessed powers of levitation, it is reputed that on rare occasions captive hot-air balloons were employed to hover above ground level while the artist made his sketches. However, especially in the 1860's and 1870's views, the perspective in these drawings is rendered as though from distances beyond the tether of any balloon—seemingly half a mile in the air—in order to capture the scale of the developing cities. Those of us in the twentieth century who take for granted the image of the earth seen from the moon's surface should take care to recognize that the skillful presentation of the bird's-eye perspective was largely the result of the nineteenth century artist's concentrated creative imagination.

Of all the firms which printed urban views, the most noteworthy is that of Britton & Rey. Joseph Britton and J. J. Rey formed a partnership in 1852 that lasted until the turn of the century. The output of their firm during those years was enormous and of consistently high quality. They were the printers of *Kuchel and Dresel's California Views*, a series issued between 1855 and 1858. Printed in black with a beige-brown tone, these are singularly elegant, subtly shaded, superlatively drawn lithographs which evidence masterful handling of the

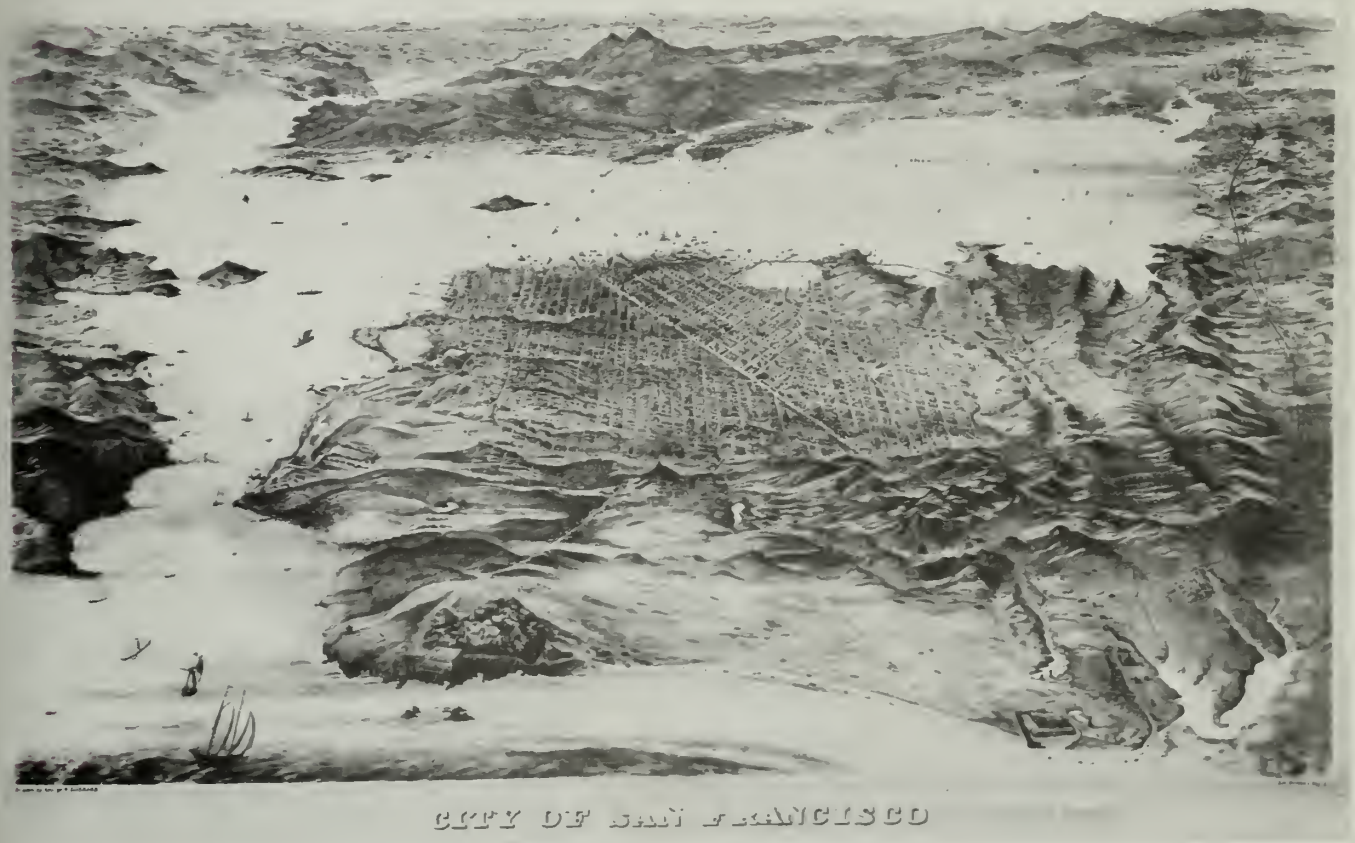


technique. Some of these prints (and many other publishers' city views during this period) display a number of small vignettes which form a border around the central image. Local businesses or town residences were usually the subjects of these tiny pictures, effective advertising offered in return for underwritten printing costs. The publisher, in these cases, was often a local merchant, usually the bookseller. Cities, towns, and camp sites from this series which are in the CHS collection are: Angel's Camp, Auburn, Coloma, Crescent City, Downieville, French Bar, Grass Valley, Jackson, Los Angeles, Marysville, Mokelumne Hill, Murphy's, Nevada (City), North San Juan, Petaluma, Placerville, St. Louis, San Jose, Santa Clara, Scotts Bar and French Bar, Shasta, Stockton, Todds Valley, Union on Humboldt Bay, Weaverville, Yankee Jims, and Yreka.

The collection also includes excellent examples of work by artists and lithographers like G. H. Goddard, Augustus Koch, George H. Baker, C. B. Gifford, and Grafton T. Brown, all working in San Francisco. Nearly thirty other cities and towns are pictured in formal city views. Some, such as Sacramento, are represented by more than one print, issued at different times by various artists and lithographers. Some of the most unusual early items include *Sacramento From the Foot of J. Street* in 1850, drawn by George Cooper on December 21, 1849, lithographed by Wm. Endicott, and published by Stringer and Townsend in New York. An interesting perspective of Stockton was drawn by William McIlvaine from Philadelphia during a trip in 1849, which he published in *Sketches of Scenery and Notes of Personal Adventure, in California and Mexico. Containing Sixteen*

Santa Clara, 1856. *Drawn and published by Charles C. Kuchel & Emil Dresel, San Francisco, 1856. Printed by Britton & Rey, San Francisco. 16 7/8" x 24 7/8". Colored lithograph with hand-colored center image.*

Lithographic Plates (1850). Another fine early view is one of *Columbia, January 1852*, drawn by G. H. Goddard and lithographed by Pollard & Britton. The first view of Los Angeles was created in 1851 by Charles Koppel for the United States Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys published in Washington, D.C. (1855–61). The most recently published city view in the collection is an 1894 print, *San Francisco in 1848* by George H. Burgess, a chromolithograph made by H. S. Crocker & Company. Representative subjects of other views in the collection are: Timbuctoo, Yuba County, 1862; Healdsburg, 1876; Santa Cruz, 1876; Pasadena, 1879 and 1893; Oakland, 1881; Berkeley, 1890; and Avalon, Santa Catalina Island, c. 1890. A brief but well-written essay on the history of lithograph views of the urban West and fifty colored plates make *Cities on Stone* by John Reps, published in 1976 by the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, an excellent reference.



Birds Eye View of the City of San Francisco and Surrounding County (*1868*). *Drawn by George H. Goddard, Sacramento and San Francisco. Lithographed and printed by Britton & Rey, San Francisco. Published by Snow & Roos, San Francisco. 29 1/4" x 41 1/4". Colored lithograph.*

III. *California Sites of Interest*—Any locality or scene in California was likely to become the subject of the lithographer's crayon or brush. A multitude of views throughout the state were recorded on stone, and a sampling of such scenes in the CHS collection gives an indication of their range and variety. The artist of the image is listed as Del., an abbreviation of the Latin term *delineavit* meaning "one who drew it." Lithographs are in black on white unless otherwise noted. "Colored lithograph" refers to a print with at least one other color tone applied lithographically, even though the visual effect may be minimal. "Hand-colored" indicates the application of watercolor, at least in part, usually after the print was published.

Agricultural Park and Race Course. (n.d., c. 1890). There are few recorded racing scenes, according to H. T. Peters in *California on Stone*. In this large, colored print, five horses strain themselves to take the lead. They are shown with all four feet off the ground in the traditional manner, before Muybridge's photographs were widely seen.

The California Powder Works, Santa Cruz County, Cal. (n.d., c. 1875). Britton & Rey, S.F. (Lith.). Colored lithograph.

Eggers Vineyard, 5 Miles N.E. of Fresno, Cal. (n.d., c. 1880). Thompson & West, Oakland (Lith.). Originally published in a county history of Fresno.

Fishermans Bay. (n.d.). A. B. Woodward (Del.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Lith.). A depiction of lumber chutes suspended from a rocky point to schooners anchored off shore.



(*Below*) San Francisco. From California Street, Drawn from a Daguerreotype, The Property of Eug. Delessert Esq^re^ (*1855*). *Artist Unknown. Printed by Lemercier, Paris. Published by M. Knoedler, New York. 11" x 34".*

Fort Yuma. Colorado Rivr. Cala. (n.d., after 1862). Geo. H. Baker, S.F. (Lith.). A party of emigrants is crossing the Colorado River in a crude ferry. They have brought with them a cannon, probably used in the Civil War. On the far bank stands an old Spanish prison. Hand-colored.

The Grand Plaza, San Francisco. (1850). Moody (Del.), B. F. Butler, S.F. (Lith.), Atwill & Co., S.F. (Pub.). The main square of San Francisco, also known as Portsmouth Square. Both Butler's and Atwill's signs are liegible on the side of one building. Colored lithograph.

Post Office, San Francisco, California. (n.d., c. 1850). H. F. Cox (Del.), Wm. Endicott & Co., N.Y. (Lith.). "A Faithful Representation of the Crowds Daily Applying at that Office for Letters and Newspapers." Colored lithograph.

Lachryma Montis, Residence of Gen. M. G. Vallejo, near Sonoma, California. (n.d.). S. W. Shaw (Del.), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). Signed in pencil: "With Compliments, M. G. Vallejo." Colored lithograph.

Shasta Butte & Shasta Valley, Siskiyou County, Cal. (n.d., c. 1860). E. Camerer, S.F. (Del.), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), L. Nagel, S.F. (Print.). Hand-colored.

Sutter's Fort, Sacramento, Cal. 1847. (n.d., c. 1860). Britton & Co., S.F. (Lith.). A sign for "S. Brannan & Co." is visible at the right. There is also a large version of the same subject in the CHS collection which was published by Snyder & Black, N.Y., c. 1853. Colored lithograph.

U.S. Navy-Yard Mare Island, and City of Vallejo. (n.d.). C. B. Gifford, S.F. (Del. & Lith.), L. Nagel, S.F. (Print.). One of a





number of S.F. views which C. B. Gifford drew for Louis Nagel to print. Others at CHS include: *Lombard, North Point, & Greenwich Docks*, *Lone Mountain Cemetery*, and *Hayes Valley, 1862*. Colored lithograph.

View of Ham's Mammoth Aqueduct. (1852). R. E. Ogilby, S.F. (Del. & Pub.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). View of a large flume across a deep gorge.

Views of the New Ditch, of the Columbia and Stanislaus River Water Co. (n.d., c. 1858). F. Holtmann, Columbia, Cal. (Del. & Pub.), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), L. Nagel, S.F. (Print.). Six views of a wooden flume winding through the hills.

Webber Lake Hotel, Sierra Co., Cal. (n.d., c. 1872–75). G. T. Brown & Co., S.F. (Del. & Lith.). Colored lithograph.

The Wonderful Calistoga Hot Sulphur Springs, Napa Co. Cal. (n.d.). Britton & Rey, S.F. (Lith.). "This favorite Watering place is situated at the terminus of the California-Pacific Railroad—Three and one half hours travel from San Francisco. . . ." Colored lithograph.

IV. *Portraits*—Famous (or infamous) personages as well as places were drawn on stone and distributed to people desiring a likeness of an admired Californian. Some of the faces appearing in the CHS collection include:

John C. Fremont. (1850). Brady, D'Avignon & Co., N.Y. A very handsome portrait, probably taken from a daguerreotype.

[*Denis Kearney*] *President Workingmen's Party, California.* (1878). Carl Browne (Del. & Pub.). With vignettes of Kearney's arrest and trial, and the party slogan, "The Chinese Must Go!"

Th.[*omas*] *Starr King.* (1861). Hoffman & Schultz (Lith.), C. H. Brainard, Boston (Pub.). "From a daguerreotype by Whipple." King was an early Unitarian minister in San Francisco and a brilliant orator.

Guiy Min—The Chinese Reformer. (n.d., c. 1885), W. J. Morgan & Co., Cleveland (Lith.). Colored lithograph with attached bill, "What Shall We do with the Chinese? Platt's Hall, S.F."

San Francisco (*1851*). *Drawn by F. S. Marryat, London. Lithographed & Printed by M. & N. Hanhart, London. Published by Henry Squire & Company, London. 18 5/8" x 25 3/8". Colored lithograph.*





The Plaza, Portsmouth Square, San Francisco; As It Should and As It May Be, According to the Plan Proposed by J. J. Chauviteau, Esq^re^ (*1852*). *Artist Unknown. Lithograph by Gihon & Butler, San Francisco. 15 3/4" x 18 7/8". Colored lithograph.*

Lombard, North Point and Greenwich Docks, San Francisco. Ships Great Republic, Hurricane and Zenobia Discharging (*n.d.*). *Drawn by Charles B. Gifford, San Francisco, Lithograph by Harrison Eastman and Arthur Nahl, San Francisco. Printed by Louis Nagel, San Francisco. 25 5/8" x 33 5/8". Colored lithograph.*

Lola Montès, Comtesse de Landsfeld. (1857). C. H. Vogt, Paris (Del.), Thierry Bros., Paris (Lith. & Print.). A lovely colored lithograph with some added watercolor tints showing San Francisco's favorite actress and dancer, Maria Dolores Eliza Rosanna Gilbert.

In Memory of Wm. C. Ralston. (1875). Korbel & Bros., S.F. (Lith. & Print.). From the San Francisco *News Letter* following Ralston's death. His portrait is surrounded by vignettes of Ralston's banks and businesses.

John A. Sutter, Major-General of the State of California. (1855). Charles Fenderich (Del. & Lith.). A fine three-quarter view of Sutter, probably from a daguerreotype, showing Sutter's Mill at Coloma, 1848, in the background.

V. *The Gold Rush, Miners, Mining Life*—Undoubtedly the segment of California history which has persistently held interest for the most people is the Gold Rush. The images which have come down to us are as rich and varied as the era itself. It is interesting that many of these lithographs are humorous sketches or caricatures which satirize the reckless enthusiasm and high hopes of the immigrant gold seeker. Others present a romantic, idealized vision of California as a tropical paradise.

A California Gold Hunter Meeting a Settler. (n.d., c. 1849). R. H. Elton, N.Y. (Lith.), Serrell & Perkins, N.Y. (Pub.). The "settler" is a menacing cougar. Hand-colored.

A Charming Girl of New-York, in the Gold Region. (n.d., c. 1850). One of a pair of prints at CHS. A delicate young woman under a parasol exhorts her beau to dig a little faster.

A Gold Hunter On His Way To California, Via St. Louis. (n.d., c. 1849). H. R. Robinson, N.Y. (Pub.). With an iron pot on his head, armed with a shovel, teapot, gold scale, pick-ax, sausage, and fish, this well-heeled gold hunter sets out on foot for California. One of several variations on this theme which were issued by other firms. Hand-colored.

Californie. (1850). A. Judels, Amsterdam (Pub.). A series of four prints. Dutch colonists panning for gold along the banks of the Sacramento and Feather rivers. Hand-colored.

California Gold. (n.d., c. 1849). N. Currier, N.Y. (Lith & Pub.). "An accurate drawing of the famous hill of gold, which has been put into a scow by the owner, and attached to a sperm whale who is now engaged in towing it around the Horn for New York." Hand-colored.

California Gold Diggers. Mining Operations on the Western Shore of the Sacramento River. (n.d., c. 1850). D. Needham, Buffalo (Del.?), Kelloggs & Comstock, Hartford (Print.). Probably lifted from a similar print by N. Currier. Hand-colored.

From the Place We Hear About. (n.d., c. 1850). Serrell & Perkins, N.Y. (Lith. & Pub.). A rag-tag assemblage of immigrant gold hunters waiting to catch a ship in Panama.

Gold! Gold! Gold! Mr. Hexikiah Jerolomans Departure for California. (n.d., c. 1850). L. Nagel, N.Y. (Lith.), R. H. Elton, N.Y. (Pub.). A portly merchant on the docks surrounded by his wares: preserved pork and beans, jack-knives, Jews' harps, letter paper, valentines, gingerbread, waterproof boots, etc. This is one man who does not intend to bother with hard work in the mines.

Mining on the Comstock. (1877). T. L. Dawes (Del.), Le Count Bros., S.F. (Lith.), J. B. Marshall, Gold Hill, Nevada (Pub.). Vignettes of mining techniques, buildings, and equipment surround a schematic "cutaway" view of a silver mine.

On the Coast of California. (n.d., c. 1877). Currier & Ives, N.Y. (Print.). One of the best prints showing California as a tropical "paradise," with banana trees, palm trees, and thatched huts in the background. Hand-colored.

The Way They Go to California. (1849). N. Currier, N.Y. (Pub.). Over-eager gold-seekers trying to board a departing ship. A figure straddling a rocket dèvice soars overhead. Like the two prints which follow, this print was one of an early series of six cartoons by Currier. They are full of active figures and wry comment. Hand-colored.

The Way They Wait for "The Steamer" at Panama. (1849). N. Currier, N.Y. (Pub.).

The Way They Come from California. (1849). N. Currier, N.Y. (Pub.). Hand-colored.



On the Coast of California (*n.d.*). *Artist unknown. Published by Currier & Ives, New York. 9⅛" x 12½". Hand-colored.*

A Charming Girl of New-York, in the Gold Region (*n.d., c.1850*). *9¾" x 12⅝".* "*Dig, Dig dear John, you must know that a little hole in the Gold region Cost a great-deal more than a large one in New-York....*"



VI. *Miscellaneous Cartoons and Political Satire*—Of particular note in this category are nine cartoons from the 1860's, mostly political satire directed at San Francisco personalities, by the S. F. caricaturist Edward Jump; and ten colored lithographs from a series entitled *Tipos Californianos*, genre sketches of early California archetypes, done by L. Marquier of Havana, Cuba, published in the 1850's.

VII. *Events, Celebrations, Parades, Gatherings*—California's artist-lithographers often memorialized transitory events, such as parades and festivals, in the form of souvenir prints. On occasion these would form the center fold-out of one of the local papers, and could be removed and used as decoration.

Chart of the Great Earthquake of October 21st, 1868, in and around San Francisco. (1868). R. J. Trumbull & Co. (Pub.). Includes twelve vignettes showing ruins in San Francisco, San Leandro, Hayward, and Alameda County, with descriptive text.

Fourth German May Festival, Weaverville, Trinity Co., Cal. (1860). From an "ambrotype taken by C. H. P. Norcross." C. C. Kuchel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Co. S.F. (Print.), Charles Schultz (Pub.). Beautifully hand-colored lithograph.



Tipos Californianos (*n.d., c.1850's*). A Protector of Arts (*left*). *Drawn by Augusto Ferran.* A Fortune Made (*right*). *Drawn by José Baturone. Published by L. Marquier, Havana, Cuba. 11¼" x 8¼". Hand-colored.*

The Apollo Warehouses, San Francisco, California (*c.1850*). *Artist unknown. Published by Sun Lithographic Establishment, New York. 10⅞" x 14½". Colored lithograph.*



Funeral Procession of Henry Clay. Born April 12, 1777: Died June 29, 1852. Aged 75 Years. (1852). B. F. Butler, S.F. (Pub.).

The Late Collision between the Trains of the Western Pacific and S.F. & Alameda Railroad Cos, near Simpsons Station, Sunday, Nov. 14th 1869. G. T. Brown (Del. & Lith.). An "Illustrated Postscript to the S.F. *News Letter*. From a sketch made on the spot one hour after the collision."

Grand Parade of the 20th National Encampment G.A.R. San Francisco, Cal., August 3, 1868. "R. Marcuse, Proprietor; Jos. A. Hoffman, Agent. Souvenir, G.A.R." Colored lithograph.

VIII. *Architecture*—Many architectural renderings were beautiful works of art although they were often produced to serve as advertising for the proprietor of the business located in the building.

The Apollo Warehouses, San Francisco, California. (c. 1850). Sun Lithographic Establishment, N.Y. (Pub.). The ship *Apollo* was sent around the Horn from New York in 1849 to San Francisco. There it was beached and converted into a store, restaurant, and warehouse. This is one of two known prints issued by this firm. Colored lithograph.

Cosmopolitan Hotel. (n.d., c. 1864). Otto Knirsch, Chicago



View of Proposed Trinity Church, San Francisco, California (*n.d., c.1865*). *Probably drawn by Frank Wills, Architect. Lithographed by C. W. Burton. Printed by Francis Michelin, New York. 12⅞" x 9". Colored lithograph.*

(Lith.). This print was probably issued in 1864 when the newly refurbished Adelphi Hotel opened to the public as the Cosmopolitan at Bush and Sansome streets in San Francisco. Colored lithograph.

Hotel Del Monte, Monterey, Cal. (n.d.). Britton & Rey, S.F. (Lith.). Published by the San Francisco *News Letter*. "The Leading Seaside Resort of the Pacific Coast" and a grand example of the Eastlake style of architecture. Colored lithograph.

Interior of Tobin & Duncan's Chinese Sales Room, Cor. of Sacramento & Leidsdorf Streets, San Francisco, Cal. (1853). B. F. Butler, S.F. (Lith.). A large group of people peruse silks, brocades, carved figurines and other imported oriental treasures.

International Hotel, Jackson Street. Bet. Montgomery & Kearney Sts., San Francisco, Cal. (n.d., c. 1855). C. C. Kuchel, S.F. (Del.), B. F. Butler, S.F. (Lith.). The International Hotel was rebuilt after the 1906 fire and is presently the focus of a bitter dispute over housing rights for the elderly. Colored lithograph.

Lick House. (n.d., c. 1863). C. C. Kuchel, S.F. (Del. & Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). W. K. Prior, Importer of Gas Fixtures, S.F. (Pub.). Built by two immigrant architects, David Farquharson from England and Henry Kenitzer of Germany, the Lick House (a commercial building) epitomized the "English Roman" style of architecture in San Francisco. Hand-colored.

Pacific Fire Co. No. 8, S.F. (n.d., c. 1854). Victor Hoffman, Architect (Del. & Pub.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). Firefighters respond to a call with a hand-drawn engine in foreground. Sixteen small vignettes of firehouses around the central image. Colored lithograph.

Pavilion, for First Industrial Exhibition of the Mechanics' Institute of the City of San Francisco, Cal. (1857). Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). Colored lithograph.

St. Francis Hook & Ladder Co. No. 1. (1855). J. F. Meyer, Architect (Del.?), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.), W. Mooser (Pub.). Colored lithograph.

Taber's Photographic Parlor, S.F., Cal. (1883). I. W. Taber, one of San Francisco's noted nineteenth century photographers, was responsible for multitudes of views of the city. This small print, an interior of his studio, was used as a book illustration.

Underwriters Fire Patrol. (1871). Bosqui Eng. & Print. Co. (Print.). This splendid full-color print shows two horse-drawn fire engines in the foreground. The U.S. Mint in San Francisco, a bastion of strength and symbol of power, is just behind.

View of Proposed Trinity Church. San Francisco, California. (n.d., c. 1865). Frank Wills, Architect (Del.?), C. W. Burton (Lith.), Francis Michelin, N.Y. (Print.). A fine rendering of a proposed building which was eventually built on Union Square (at Post and Powell streets) in San Francisco.

IX. *Scenery and Natural Wonders*—California has always been as famous for its magnificent scenery as it has been for its mineral wealth. Yosemite Valley and its landmarks were the most often pictured, but Lake Tahoe and the Pacific coastline also earned the admiration of artists and lithographers. Also, individual members of California's flora and fauna were described in lithographs. Some of these which are not listed here in detail include: *Vischer's Views of California* (1862), Edward Vischer, S. F. (Del. & Pub.), C. C. Kuchel, S. F. (Lith.), L. Nagel, S. F. (Print.). Thirteen plates with a total of twenty-five views, issued as a portfolio, of the Mammoth Tree Grove in Calaveras County; and miscellaneous loose prints from the United States Pacific Railroad Explorations & Surveys, published by the U.S. government in Washington, D.C. during the late 1850's. The pictures, which are by a number of artists, are veristic, often highly-colored prints of trees, flowers, and birds. The surveys also included many illustrations showing the topography of the proposed railroad routes as well as the more specific details of the plant and animal life. The California Historical Society owns two bound volumes of the immense survey.



VIEW TO YOSEMITE FALLS.

The Yo-Hamite Falls (*1855*). *Drawn by T. A. Ayres. Lithographed by Kuchel & Dresel, San Francisco. Printed by Britton & Rey, San Francisco. Published by James M. Hutchings & A. Rosenfield, San Francisco. 22¼" x 14⅝".*

Lake Tahoe & Western Summit from Zephyr Cove. (n.d.). Geo. H. Baker, S.F. (Lith.). The calm peace of this view is not disturbed by a few people in a small boat in the foreground; it makes an interesting comparison with what the lake looks like today, after years of misuse and wanton destruction of the local ecology. Colored lithograph.

General View of the Great Yosemite Valley. (1859). Nahl Bros., S.F. (Del. & Lith.), L. Nagel, S.F. (Print.), Hutchings & Rosenfield, S.F. (Pub.). A realistic view from nearby heights by Arthur and Charles Nahl.

The Mammoth Tree Grove, Calaveras County, California. (1855). T. A. Ayres, S.F. (Del.), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.). "General view of the hotel and surrounding forest." Hand-colored.

Scenes on the Pacific Coast. (1880). "From original sketches and photos by G. F. Keller." Published by the San Francisco *Wasp*. Forty different vignettes arranged in a montage: Point Reyes Lighthouse, Alcatraz, Golden Gate Park, Mission San Diego, The Geysers, Cathedral Spires, Virginia City, Truckee River, and whalers are among these, constituting a broad definition of the Pacific coast. Colored lithograph.

The Yo-Hamite Falls. (1855). T. A. Ayres, S.F. (Del.), Kuchel & Dresel, S.F. (Lith.), Britton & Rey, S.F. (Print.), Hutchings & Rosenfield, S.F. (Pub.). Colored lithograph.

Yosemite Valley—California. "The Bridal Veil" Falls. (1866). Currier & Ives, N.Y. (Pub.). An attractive, if somewhat imaginary, view showing Indians in canoes and teepees in the foreground. Hand-colored.

Views on the South Pacific Coast Railroad, and *Views on the North Pacific Coast Railroad.* (c.1882). Published by the San Francisco *Wasp* as Christmas issue foldouts. A pair of prints, both different and featuring the following sites: Russian River Station; San Rafael; Green Gulch Bridge; Tomales Creek; Taylorsville; Duncan Mills; California Powder Works; Santa Cruz; Big Tree Grove, Felton; Vine Hill from Magnetic Springs; and the Natural Bridge, Santa Cruz. Colored lithographs.

The California Historical Society's collection of pictorial letter sheets and lithographs constitute a rare public resource which is made available to scholars and students, researchers and publishers, or anyone who is seriously interested in California's art and history. The staff continues to research and document each print and to enlarge the collection through the addition of new material. Contributions, either of lithographs or of funds for ongoing conservation and restoration of these fragile works, are encouraged and welcomed. Such contributions will help insure that the CHS collection will continue to be an important and fruitful source of information about California's past.

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Notes

1. The only other large public collections of California lithographs are located at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and at the Society of California Pioneers in San Francisco.
2. Joseph A. Baird, Jr., and Edwin C. Evans, *Historic Lithographs of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Burger & Evans, 1972), p. 12.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 18; footnote 36.

Ms. Hoover and Mr. Sawchuck are Curators of Exhibitions and Collections at the California Historical Society.

Book Reviews

Travels in Southern California

By John Xántus. Translated and edited by Theodore Schoenman and Helen Benedek Schoenman. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1976. 212 pp. Illustrations, index. $12.95.)

Reviewed by Henry Miller Madden, *University Librarian, California State University, Fresno.*

In 1857 a bright and ambitious young refugee from Hungary, an enlisted man in the United States Army, was stationed at Fort Tejon, California. His name was János Xántus, and he was awaiting the publication, in his homeland, of his first book. When *Levelei Éjszakamerikából* (*Letters from North America*) was published in 1858, it was so well received that Xántus produced a second book, *Utazás Kalifornia déli részeiben* (*Travel in the Southern Parts of California*), which eventually was published in Pest in 1860.

While this crafting of books was going on, Xántus was busy collecting in many fields of natural history at Fort Tejon and at Cape San Lucas in Lower California. These collections were among the most important ever made in North America and have deservedly preserved Xántus' name and reputation in the history of scientific exploration.

In 1936 a bright and ambitious young graduate student from California was enrolled in Columbia University. He is the undersigned. He was eager to work on a biography of Xántus, which he did in New York, Budapest, Palo Alto, Washington, and Linz, Austria. Thirteen years after the work was begun, the biography was published. It was in 1949, then, that the world of scholarship first learned that the distinguished naturalist was also an accomplished plagiarist. A large part of *Letters* and almost all of *Travel* are direct and unacknowledged translations from the reports, published as congressional documents, made by prominent military explorers of the West, such as Marcy, Emory, and Abert.

In 1975 the young graduate student, by now young only in spirit, learned to his amazement that a university press was about to publish a translation of Xántus' first "book" and was to follow this with the second. It is the latter which is the subject of this review.

If the translators, editors, and publishers were not aware that they were issuing a worthless plagiarism, they could be forgiven. But both translations refer specifically to this author's biography of Xántus; the latter devotes thirty-nine pages to Xántus as an author, including seven pages listing in detail the sources from which *Travel* was plagiarized. In forty years of librarianship and teaching I have never known another instance of a verified plagiarism being translated back into the language from which it was stolen. Now we have an instance of it, and from a university press!

If one wishes a uniquely painful experience, one may, in this book which purports to deal with Southern and Lower California, read Abert's *Report . . . of His Examination of New Mexico, in the Years 1846-'47*, Letterman's *Sketch of the Navajo Tribe*, and Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth . . . to San Diego . . . in 1846-47*, in an English version of a Hungarian translation. One will find that Acoma pueblo was transferred to Lower California and that the Tejon vocabulary is identical with Navajo.

The book *Travels in Southern California* represents as Xántus' what the translators and publishers know is not his and omits any warning that it has nothing to do with California. The text will puzzle the uninformed reader who tries to locate a 140-foot waterfall within a few hours' walk of Olvera Street, or a 13,000-foot pass in the Sierra Nevada between Los Angeles and Fort Tejon. For a reviewer whose living is with books, it is painful to describe a book as dangerous, but this is precisely the proper term for this work.

Compromises of Conflicting Claims: A Century of California Law, 1760–1860.

By Richard R. Powell. (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Ocean Publications, 1977. xiv, 332 pp. Appendices, index. $20.00.)

Reviewed by W. N. Davis, Jr., *Chief of Archives, California State Archives.*

The author of this unique book, Richard R. Powell, was a professor of law at Columbia Law School for thirty-eight years and at Hastings College of Law for twelve years. He was the esteemed Reporter for the American Law Institute project that produced the *Restatement of the Law of Property* (4 volumes, 1927–43) and later the author of *Treatise on the Law of Property* (7 volumes, 1949–58). For his excellence in the field of law he has received many honors.

This latest of Powell's writings grew out of the view that commemoration of the Hastings College of Law centennial should include "a substantial ingredient" over and beyond a recounting of the school's accomplishments of the past. "The idea of preparing a narrative of how California had evolved the viable law for a great state in a remarkably short number of years" (p. xiii) became the project that supplied that need.

The format of the book is that of the highly-organized, closely-reasoned, clearly- and succinctly-written law treatise. Fifty numbered paragraphs comprise the book's eight chapters. The text totals 137 pages, the notes 90 pages. The expansive notes are placed at the end of each chapter so that they can be read along with the text. Throughout, exhaustive material is presented with remarkable concision.

The author acknowledges that in undertaking this work he soon found that his skills in teaching law needed supplements in the skills of the historian. Acquisition of these new skills was not easy, he admits. How does Powell do as a historian? Concerning his abstraction of the early California story as it relates to the history of California law, it is the reviewer's opinion that, given the scope of the task and the time available for its completion, few California historians could do a better job. Of course some historian's will disagree with some things Powell says. An example of this is his statement that "the future of California [as of 1769] would rest on the outcome of the very unequal struggle between outposts of decadent Spain and the vibrant and aggressive Anglo-Saxons" (p. 6). Powell is not unaware of the counterargument on that point, and he has read Herr's *Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*, but he is convinced that the evidence is on his side.

For a definition of law that is basic to the philosophy and structure of the book, Powell presents the quotation that "law is the articulated effort of two or more entities to get along together" (p. 1). By this definition, law is more than can be found in legislative enactments and court decisions alone. That concept accords with the words, "compromises of conflicting claims," which appear in the book's title. In his treatment of the period prior to 1769 and on through the Spanish, Mexican, and Interim periods down to 1850, Powell dwells principally on the entities, claims, and developments that occupy the larger stage, those represented by church and state, military governor and mission president, Mexico and California, Northern California and Southern California, Californian and American immigrant, and military government and civilian community. Local administration of justice, as indicated in Bancroft's *History of California*, Volumes I-IV, is little considered. That, however, is not Powell's main concern. What he set out to do, and definitely does, is to identify and evaluate the events and conditions of those years, such as the Mexican legislative acts, the secularization of the missions, and the Spanish-Mexican land grants, that affected the evolution of California law.

The four chapters, V through VIII, bear the general title, "The Decade of Many Beginnings—1850 to 1860." Chapter V, subtitled "Changing Circumstances of the State," examines the subject of multiplied population, diversified products, communication, educational facilities, welfare, and churches, which together "form the warp and the woof, into which the people embroidered their law" (p. 114). It is against this background that Powell proceeds to the specifics of the final chapters, which are his strongest grounds.

Chapter VI, "Evolution of Law—Tools of Government," deals with the continuity of Spanish and Mexican law and the six classes of cases decided by the Supreme Court of California during the 1850's in which the authority of the earlier Mexican and Spanish law was at issue, being "sometimes respected, sometimes rejected, sometimes circumvented" (p. 132); the political problems inherent in separation of governmental powers into legislative, judicial, and executive functions; the conflict between state and federal power; courts and procedure; and crimes and punishment. Chapter VII, "Evolution of Property Law," takes up general land law, mechanics' lien, landlord and tenant, protection of possession, decedents' estates, miners' law, and water law; and Chapter VII, "Evolution of Law—Miscellaneous Topics," business and labor law, husband and wife, treatment of minorities, and the legal profession. On all these topics Powell classifies, surveys, and summarizes the California statutory law and case law of the decade. He analyzes eleven Supreme Court decisions relating to the possession of land and twenty-three dealing with the property rights of married persons, for example. He points out the survivals of Spanish and Mexican law and duly notes the substantial amount of judicial legislation produced by the state Supreme Court. The "marvel of this decade" (p. 142) is the completeness with which the common law tradition as to procedure was planted. The last three chapters, with notes, provide a superlative compendium of the legislative statutes and Supreme Court opinions relating to California law and procedure of the first decade of statehood.

In developing this book, Powell has used a wide range of

sources, both primary and secondary, including many articles which were published in the *California Historical Quarterly*. He has added, in the appendices, copies of the Regulations of Felipe de Neve, the California Constitution of 1849, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (articles VIII and IX), the heretofore unpublished petition of nineteen San Francisco lawyers to the California legislature urging adoption of the civil law (1850), and the report of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary recommending adoption of the common law (1850). A very good index has been included.

Powell quotes Justice Heydenfeldt in *Conger* v. *Weaver*, 6 Cal. 556 (1856), "that every judge is bound to know the history and the leading traits which enter into the history of the country where he presides" (p. 181). Powell adds in a footnote that this statement "would be a useful item for the cover blurb of this book!" (p. 193). That such an item is fitting for this impressive work, reflective of the book's character, the reviewer quite agrees.

Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America.

Edited by Emma Gee et al. (Los Angeles: University of California Asian American Studies Center, 1976. xiv, 595 pp. Illustrations, tables, bibliographic essay. Cloth $17.95, paper $8.95.)

Reviewed by Philip P. Choy, *architect and scholar of Asian-American affairs.*

Until recently the Asians in America were nearly invisible in our nation's history. Any portrayal of Asians was subject to the whims of the white majority. An unfavorable press, as well as the works of eminent historians of the past such as Hubert H. Bancroft and Rockwell Hunt, left a legacy that Asians were undesirable as Americans. More recently over-enthusiastic journalists in search of a positive proof of the "American dream" have cited the Asians in America as outstanding model citizens for other minorities to emulate, as people who have overcome past adversity through uncomplaining hard work. Japanese Americans assumed their role as the quiet American, suppressing their anger and accepting their fate in World War II internment camps. Ignoring these bitter memories, they promoted Sukiyaki and Cherry Blossoms in their stead, Likewise, the Chinese American substituted for the humilating racist immigration policies of the past chop sticks and chop suey and Chinese New Year Festivities. In accepting these roles, Asians in American kept their place as non-participating, impotent citizens.

A turn of events took place during the civil rights movement of the 1960's and 1970's. Activist Asian Americans forged the beginnings of ethnic study departments in our universities. From the centers of ethnic studies have come many publications setting new perspectives, authored by Asian Americans.

Counterpoint is an anthology of some 600 pages organized in three parts: Critical Perspectives, Contemporary Issues, and Literature. Among the many authors are some notable pioneers in the field of ethnic studies as well as students contributing scholarly works.

The use of the term Asians in this volume refers to geographical rather than ethnic origins. People of the Pacific, Samoans, East Indians, Filipinos, Koreans, and Vietnamese are included as well as the Japanese and Chinese. The Filipinos and the Samoans who began their migration in the post-World War II era were classified as American nationals, neither citizen nor alien. The Filipino shared the common fate as "undesirables" with their Asian neighbors.

Sub-sections include critiques on past writings on the Asian Americans and offer new approaches through a series of scholarly essays probing the interaction of national and international politics with the Asian experience.

It is evident by the selection of essays that the Asian American experience is diverse and vibrant with life, in contrast to the common depiction of Asians as continually licking their wounds of rejection and totally pre-occupied with the problems of assimilation. One essay deals with this sociological issue, "The Chinese American in Sociology," authored by Lucie Cheng Hirate. In another essay, "The Politics and the United States Chinese Communities," the author H. Mark Lai deals with "rejection" as one of the major factors which gave life and meaning to the community through intense involvement in the politics of China. It is a natural phenomenon with all immigrants to maintain an interest in their own native land. With the Chinese, however, this was sustained throughout several generations, due to the long period of hostility and exclusion in this country.

In the Contemporary Issues section, the history, origin, and philosophy of ethnic studies and its struggles against the

stubborn resistance of traditional-minded academia are traced. The essay, "Ethnic Studies and Higher Education for Asian Americans," by Mike Nurase delineates for the reader an understanding of the material presented in this volume. The author writes:

> One approach to understanding the experience of Asians in America is a study of the history of ethnic studies and the context of the system of higher education in which it arose. . . . A study of ethnic studies . . . of why the resistance to ethnic studies is so strong . . . leads to the conclusion that the priority of higher education in the United States has been to continue the maintenance and transmission of class privileges.

One of the fruitful results of the ethnic movement in education is covered by Ling Chi Wang in the *Lau* v. *Nichols* case for equality in education. This Supreme Court case upheld the right to bilingual-bicultural education for students of all language and cultural backgrounds.

This volume is by no means a bedside reader. It provides the teacher of ethnic studies with a wealth of material. It challenges the authority of the traditional historian, for there is more to history than biographies of great men and veneration of the past. The perspectives presented are by no means a conclusion, but a beginning in the study of the conflict between America's minorities and the white majority.

The Politics of Business in California, 1890-1920.

By Mansel G. Blackford. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977, xi, 221 pp. Bibliography, index. $12.50.)

Reviewed by William H. Pickens, *Ph.D. in economic history from U.C. Davis and Research Analyst for the California Postsecondary Education Commission. He is currently working on a history of public policy and the development of the San Francisco Bay.*

Politics and business in America have always mixed well, despite all the apparent hostility between public officials and businessmen. Until recently, many scholars accepted these appearances and composed long histories about the tycoons' horror over government regulation and commercial meddling by such Progressive champions as President Teddy Roosevelt and California Governor Hiram Johnson at the turn of our century. Professor Blackford's is one among a score of books which disagree that this hostility was common in the business-political world.

Blackford analyzes how various groups of businessmen reacted to the unsettling economic forces in California between 1890 and 1920. Blackford's businessmen include agricultural growers, oilmen, lumbermen, railroad executives,



Peddling fish in Chinatown, old traditions in the new land. Photograph by Arnold Genthe.

directors of public utilities, bankers, and insurance salesmen. The unsettling forces include rapidly increasing production, steadily falling prices, intense competition, suspicion among consumers, and national economic fluctuations. Blackford's business groups reacted to these forces "by trying to reorder their lives in ways that stressed the need for stability, efficiency, and expertise . . . [through] an intricate combination of private and public actions" (pp. xi, 161). Faced with initial difficulties, all groups established private arrangements for stability and higher prices: specialized cooperatives in agriculture, horizontal and vertical integration in the oil industry, associations among bankers and insurance agents. In each industry, technological change or attractively expanding markets undermined these voluntary arrangements and sent businessmen scrambling to Sacramento. They asked the government to enforce standards, to regulate competition, or to set rates. At first, their requests failed because of squabbles within their industry or stiff criticism from outside. Gradually, the firms closed ranks and successfully convinced others (often "Progressive" reformers) to regulate them or other industries. The milestone laws were carefully orchestrated compromises among factions within the industry (banking) or between the industry (railroads) and powerful customers. Blackford concludes that political alignments cut across party lines and usually reflected geographical areas of the state. Regulatory commissions were rarely dominated by the firms because of continuing strife within the industries. Blackford relates all these business and political maneuvers to the central theme of "organizational synthesis," first suggested by Robert Wiebe and Samuel Hays: "The spread of bureaucratic organizations and the growth of professions, together with a heightened awareness of the need for order and efficiency . . . best [explain] the course of American development in this period." (p. ix.)

If this theme is well established in historical studies, what does Blackford contribute? Certainly this book is convincing that efforts for regulation began in the 1890's; the reforms of the "Progressive Era" were not sharp breaks with earlier times. Unlike most studies which focus on single industries or on state government, Blackford presents an encompassing view of industry structures and their emerging problems which he relates directly to lawmaking. Finally, he describes a few consumers who played strategic, though erratic, roles in business legislation.

This competent work is marred by two flaws. First, I have never been impressed by the explanatory power of the "organizational synthesis" theme. It is too general and begs important issues. For example, Blackford insists that business politics were "pluralist" rather than "elitist" because no single industry or firm enjoyed absolute domain: "divisions within business ranks further limited the mastery businessmen sought" (p. 171). He naively implies that power was widely diffused and that many groups had equal access to lawmakers. Where were small farmers, labor groups, unorganized workers, and radical political parties? Blackford describes a Battle of the Titans, and while it is true that Titans often lose, especially when fighting among themselves, they still remain Titans.

Second, Blackford ignores the profound insights into political economy which have been contributed recently by economists. Lance Davis and Douglass North, for example, have pioneered a controversial model which links economic growth, economic organization, and political arrangements. Their concerns closely parallel Blackford's own interests, and their helpful definitions and economic theories would have sharpened Blackford's analysis of his mass of facts even if he made only casual use of their model. Nevertheless, Professor Blackford has written a comprehensive though succinct book which well serves the specialist in California business history or in public administration.

A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers.

By Dick Meister and Anne Loftis. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1977. xi, 241 pp. Illustrations, index. $14.95.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor.*

The steady stream of books on the organization of farm workers shows no sign of diminishing. Like most of its recent predecessors, *A Long Time Coming* is written from a perspective sympathetic to farm labor unions in general and to the efforts of Cesar Chavez in particular, and a great deal of the material in this book can be found in numerous other works. Nevertheless, the book has much to recommend it. Meister, a veteran labor journalist, and Loftis, a social historian, have produced a well-written summary of much that is known about farm worker organization, past and present.



Farmworkers picking cotton in Fresno County—back-breaking stoop labor

Most of their account deals with what might be called the "Chavez Era" from the mid-sixties to the present. But there are also strong chapters describing the dramatic organizational campaigns of the IWW at the turn of the century, the efforts of the Communist Party in the 1930's, and the hesitant farm labor activities of the AFL and CIO in the immediate post-war years. Unfortunately, the authors do not give enough attention to past attempts by various ethnic groups to form independent unions. In particular, the efforts of Mexican workers during the twenties and thirties are important historical precedents to the development of today's United Farm Workers.

Meister and Loftis intended to write a national history of farm labor organization, and they include valuable information on the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and the ILWU's successful efforts in Hawaiian agriculture. But the great bulk of the book is devoted to California. In reality, the authors have written a history of farm labor unionization in California, with only brief and impressionistic coverage of other states.

It is true that a very large portion of the national history of the farm union movement in the United States has occurred in California. But this fact itself raises questions about the extent to which this state's individual experience is applicable to the nation as a whole. Has California been a vanguard for the rest of the country in developing agricultural labor organization, or have the unique features of the state's agricultural history and economy made it a special case? Will California's new farm labor law be a model for other states and the federal government, or will it simply make California an exception similar to Hawaii? Meister and Loftis have not answered these questions, but they have written an intelligent and useful narrative for the general reader.

Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain, 1796-97.

Translated and edited by Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977. ix, 177 pp. Tables, lexicon, index. Paper $6.50, cloth $12.50.)

Reviewed by Daniel J. Garr, *Associate Professor, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, San José State University.*

The management of the vast North American frontier was for Spain an interminable problem. It was a challenge of similar proportions shared by generations of missionaries. The religious orders were the vanguard on the perimeter of colonization, seeking to assimilate the Indian cultures encountered in the centrifugal expansion which persisted for three centuries. This Report by thirty-four-year-old Father Diego Bringas de Manzaneda, O.F.M. (1762-c.1830) presents a vivid picture of conditions at the close of the eighteenth century in the Primería Alta on the Sonora-Arizona frontier, a region still in disarray following the expulsion of the Jesuits three decades earlier. The marauding Apache had not been contained, many existing missions had suffered setbacks or had atrophied, plans to establish a secure overland route from the Californias through the Sonora desert and on to New Mexico still languished, and the ominous cloud of secularization hovered over the beleaguered missionary realm.

The solutions proposed by Bringas are instructive. Until the Apaches are denied the use of firearms and compelled to settle into an agrarian lifestyle, that "vagabond nation" will never be at peace nor able to "indemnify the Treasury for the considerable sum . . . with which it supports these disguised enemies" (p. 119). This contrasts, as the editors point out, with

Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez' policy of encouraging alcoholism while providing the Apaches with inferior weapons so as to foster a dependence on Spanish gunsmiths. Bringas also suggests that "prisoners of war captured by some nations" be purchased "at very low prices, thus furnishing the opportunity for their baptism" (p. 51). Not unexpectedly, more resources are called for so that additional settlements may be established with adequate missionary and military staffing. Perhaps the chief obstacle to this goal was the tight-fisted posture (especially with respect to missionaries) of Pedro Galindo Navarro, *asesor* of the Provincias Internas who held sway until least 1797. Bringas painstakingly reviews his communications with Navarro, hoping that a sympathetic royal hearing would ensue. However, for reasons discussed in a Preface marred by a chronological oversight, this Report was never to reach its destination, the desk of Ferdinand VII.

Bringas' views on secularization are another highlight of this instructive document. He asks Ferdinand to "prolong the time for as many decades as are needed to advance Indian nations to the state to which the law of ten years was originally intended to bring them . . . for a nation is stupid and backward in learning the ineffable mysteries of the faith and lazy in working and cultivating the fields "(p. 50). Later, he asserts Indians "are always children" and questions "of what importance is it . . . that these missions have been here for more than a hundred years while their population has the characteristics of one that is barely ten years old?" (p. 57).

To modern eyes, such views only serve to raise questions concerning the entire missionary program. One cannot resist the observation that the Report lacks the immediacy imbued by a Serra, Lasuén, or Gareés. Bringas had no prior experience in the field. He was a scholar, administrator, and polemicist. Despite their acknowledged partisanship, Serra *et al.* wrote in a persuasive manner which burned with conviction, whereas Bringas' document is the product of a visitation with nine other friars about whom little is known. The Report should be read in that context.

Editors Matson and Fontana have provided a lively and informative introduction to this book, and their discussion of Bringas' career subsequent to this assignment whets the appetite for more details of the life of an otherwise remarkable man. However, a more critical examination of the inherently contentious church-state partnership would have been helpful. In any case, students of Arizona history and that of the Borderlands will find this volume a welcome addition to their libraries.

Wilderness Calling: The Hardeman Family in the American Westward Movement, 1750-1900.

By Nicholas Perkins Hardeman. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977. xiv, 357 pp. Illustrations. $14.95.)

Reviewed by James J. Rawls, *Department of History, Diablo Valley College, Pleasant Hill.*

Wilderness Calling is at once a thoughtful interpretation of the American westward movement and an adventure tale of large proportions. The narrative is lively and punctuated with scenes of high drama—one is easily caught up in the dangers of flatboating down the Tennessee in the 1870's or braving an Isthmian passage in 1850.

The focus of the book is on Thomas Hardeman and his descendants. Through the Hardemans' experiences and the remarkable records which they produced, we are led to consider such matters as frontier society in the Virginia-Carolina back country of the 1760's, the function of frontier merchants and small country stores in the early Southwest, the prominence of Missouri in the westward movement, the Santa Fe trail and trade, the independence movement in Texas, the Oregon migration and California gold rush, Confederate military activity in the Far West and the postwar Confederate diaspora in Latin America, Texas and Kansas cowtowns of the 1870's, and life among the Black "Buffalo Soldiers" of the U.S. Tenth Cavalry.

California historians will be especially interested in the discussion of Peter Hardeman Burnett, California supreme court justice and first elected governor. Two chapters are devoted to Burnett's Oregon career—leader of the great migration of 1843, propagandist for the Northwest, public official—and one chapter to his life in California. Here, as elsewhere, Hardeman moves effortlessly from the particular to the general. Using the career of Peter Burnett as his touchstone, he offers a portrait of West Coast politics and society at mid-century. Burnett, like other members of the Hardeman clan, is not an altogether attractive figure, and the author does not hesitate to describe his less admirable qualities. Burnett's penchant to resign from office when the going was rough—as he did on the Oregon trail and as California governor—is duly noted. Likewise Burnett's racial prejudice, which led him to oppose the entry of free Blacks into Oregon and California, is described, albeit briefly. (Burnett's infamous decision in the Archy Lee case is covered in one sentence.) Yet

Hardeman also defends his progenitors from the slights or inaccuracies of their detractors. For instance, he denies any wrongdoing by Burnett as John Sutter's legal counsel and business agent.

After describing each generation's move westward, Hardeman examines their motives. The West contained great quantities of cheap land, he argues, and in a predominantly agricultural society increased landholdings represented the main path to upward mobility. While the path was open to few at the bottom of the heap (Hardeman rejects Turner's "safety valve" theory), it was open to families like the Hardemans who were already comfortably established in more settled areas, and who were allured by the prospect of even better holdings and social standing in the West. Hardeman also sees the family itself as an active force in the westward movement. "As the principal social structure, the most important moral and cultural institution, and a primary economic unit, the pre-twentieth century family has been slighted by historians of the West in their search for causes of behavior—slighted in favor of broader-based determinisms and influences."

Wilderness Calling is history by induction: the story of the Hardeman family has been told with such skill that it illuminates a panorama of western history. Genealogists and historians might well consider this book as a model for the writing of family history.

Saga of Rancho El Tejón.

By Frank F. Latta. (Santa Cruz: Bear State Books, 304 High Street, 1976. xv, 293 pp. Map, illustrations. $15.00 postpaid.)

Reviewed by John E. Caswell, *Professor of History, California State College, Stanislaus and co-author of* Streams in a Thirsty Land: A History of the Turlock Region (*1972*).

Long before tape recorders, Frank Latta began interviewing San Joaquin Valley pioneers. After he had accumulated 17,000 interviews, he lost count. He had several thousand newspaper columns and seven books to his credit before his recent outpouring began in 1976: *Dalton Gang Days, Saga of Rancho El Tejón, Tailholt Tales*, and more recently, *Joaquin Murietta and his Horse Gangs*. Six more manuscripts are reported to be in preparation.

Saga of Rancho El Tejón is a selection from interviews with José Jesús López, long-time major-domo of the rancho. Latta interviewed Don José repeatedly between 1916 and 1939. López' family stories begin about 1772; he himself could recall events prior to 1860.

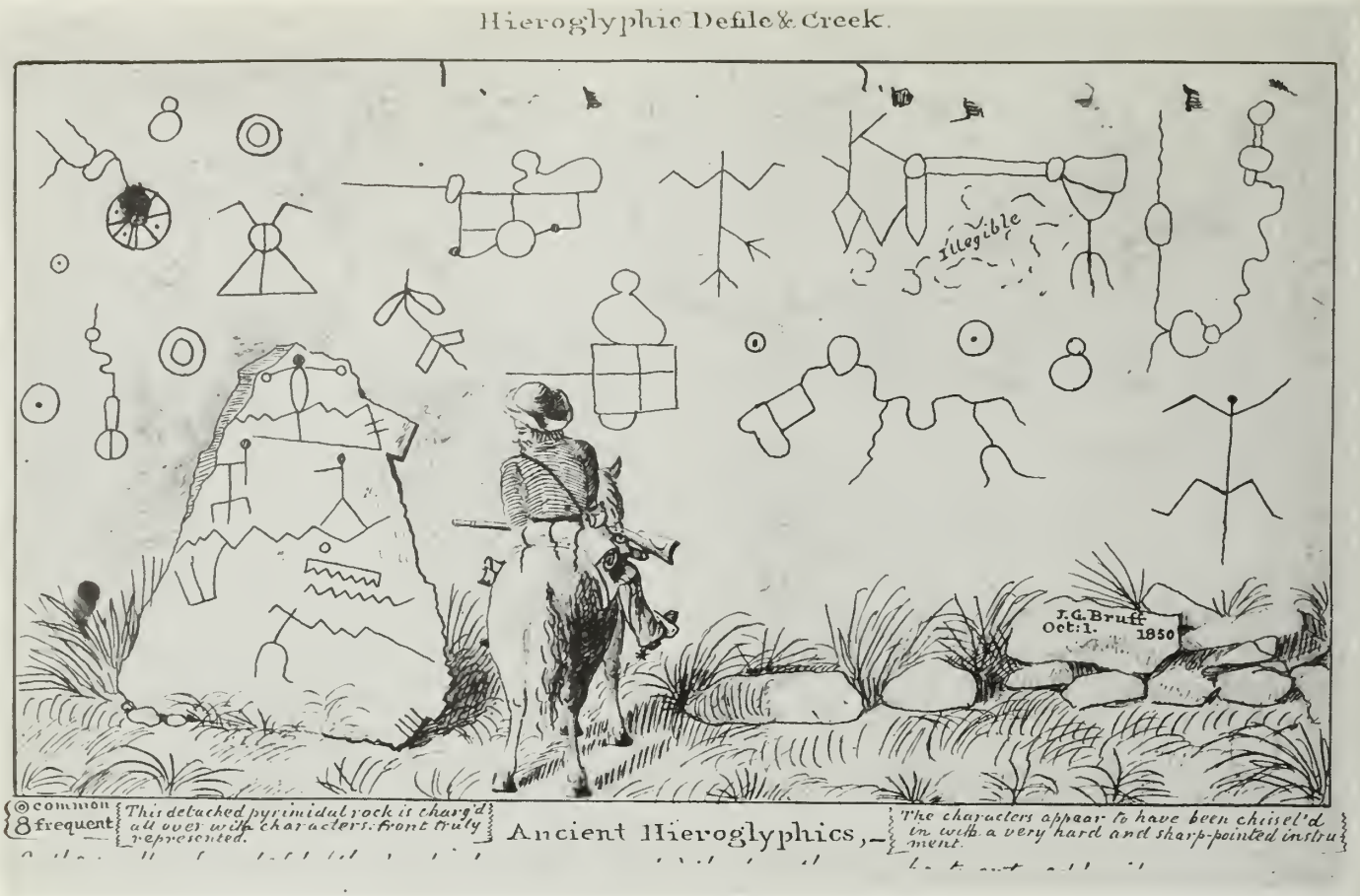
López herded a band of sheep into the San Joaquin in November, 1873, and three months later he was hired by General Edward Fitzgerald Beale to supervise all sheep on the rancho. A few years later he was put in charge of the cattle, too.

Around 1870 Don José began keeping a diary in which he would write as he rode in his buckboard over the 300,000 acres of the rancho. Although fire destroyed his diaries in 1917, his memory of events was excellent, and he insisted on Latta's recording his statements *verbatim*.

The result truly is saga—the doings of heroes. It lacks the cohesiveness of good historical writing, but it gives us wondrous glimpses of Los Angeles in the 1870's and the southern San Joaquin over the succeeding half-century. A few of López' topics may convey something of the scope and flavor of the volume: an account of Mexican freight haulers, including Don José's father, who used ox teams and carettas; development of the Overland Stage Road across the Tehachapis; the skill of the Indian vaqueros. In a chapter devoted to bandits, López quickly disposes of the notion that Tiburcio Vásquez was a folk hero: he preyed on his own people and impregnated his own niece. Chapters are devoted to two of López heroes, General Beale and Alexis Godey, Frémont's guide.

The final chapter is an account of Don José's long, painful, and dangerous sheep drive from Owens Valley to Green River, Wyoming, in 1879. Earle Crowe's *General Beale's Sheep Odyssey* (1960) is a more general account, but Don José's story better conveys the frustrations, fears, and ever present dread of death in the desert which remained vivid as he recounted the story decades later.

All who have an interest in how Californios and Indians adapted to the American presence, all who cherish glimpses of early Los Angeles and the San Joaquin, will appreciate what Frank Latta has done. Helen S. Giffen's *Story of El Tejón* (1942) furnishes valuable background, but lacks the detail and color of this account. The one serious fault in this book is the failure to provide background and explanatory material, whether in the text or in footnotes. It is to be hoped that this departure from the author's customary practice will not be repeated.



Prehistory of the Far West: Homes of Vanished Peoples. By L. S. Cressman. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1977. xvii, 248 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $15.00.)

Reviewed by Albert E. Elsasser, *Associate Research Anthropologist, University of California, Berkeley.*

Probably Luther Cressman has been involved with the archaeology of western North America longer than any other living person. His first publications began to come out in the early 1930's, and since then, until his retirement at the University of Oregon in 1963 and beyond, he has produced a steady stream of monographs on the subject and has inspired a great many students to work in the field as well.

During his long career, Cressman has collaborated or consulted with a variety of experts in every discipline conceivably related to prehistory: vulcanology, glaciology, palynology, and the like. One reads the present book with the feeling that he has neglected none of the special approaches beyond the field of archaeology proper which may bear upon the topic of man's cultural development in this part of the New World. Often when he discusses possible tracks of early men from one place to another, the reader can easily visualize Cressman himself, perhaps in the company of other keen observers, walking over the proposed route to see if it were feasible.

Obviously in a book of this scope there are many frustrating gaps and dead ends which must be confronted. When Cressman presents the alternatives and then his considered judgment about what the reality may have been, the reader does not experience that familiar feeling of somehow having been let down without a decision. In his deliberations about the presence of man more than 25,000 years ago in several localities in Southern California, perhaps he is slightly more tolerant about accepting the ancientness of some sites than the evidence warrants. Assuredly, however, he cannot be accused of attempting to slant the evidence in favor of any particular thesis concerning such hoary antiquity.

Early chapters are devoted to descriptions of the land, its resources, and the people, the early "wanderers" from Asia who found all the marvels, perils, and uncertainties of the new environment. Later we are given, with incisive commentary, the results of archaeological surveys and excavations, the physical evidence upon which Cressman and scores of other investigators have based their interpretations of man's early and checkered career in the vast land extending from Alaska to Mexico and from the Pacific Coast to about the crest of the Rockies.

The section about subsistence and adaptation is less coldly documented by references to the works of others, but here the

Native American pictographs, as sketched in 1850 by J. Goldsborough Bruff

full flavor of Cressman's humanistic thinking can be appreciated. He refers to the implements which big game hunters, fishermen, and plant food gatherers have left behind them—starting about 11,000 years ago—in terms of near wonder at the enormity of their tasks in their unfamiliar surroundings. One does not merely learn, for example, that the bow and arrow supplanted around 2000 years ago the much less effective throwing stick or *atlatl* and spear. There is set up the picture of small societies considering the merits of each, like people of the early twentieth century trying to settle on the horse-drawn carriage or the automobile as the ideal means of transportation.

Even in the few years which have elapsed since the writing of the present volume, new discoveries have been made in western North American early man studies. Cressman of course anticipated this, but it will nevertheless probably be a long time before anyone can produce such a definitive and easily readable account of man's presence in this or any other part of the continent.

Deutsche Exil-literatur seit 1933. Teil I. *Kalifornien.* Edited by John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka. (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1976. 1000 pp.)

Reviewed by Jarrell C. Jackman, *whose doctoral dissertation focuses on German émigrés in Southern California from 1933 to 1950.*

Published two years ago in Switzerland and Germany, this scholarly work on German émigrés who settled in California during the 1930's and 1940's contains a collection of essays and short biographies which should be of interest to California historians. There is a general knowledge that famous German writers and composers, such as Thomas Mann and Arnold Schoenberg, became permanent residents of Southern California during this period. Until this volume, however, very little has been published on the other German émigré authors, playwrights, composers, musicians, scholars, actors, and film directors who also settled in the state. The essays in this book are written by a number of scholars and range in subject from the interaction between the émigrés and the university of California, Los Angeles, to a brief study on what exile was like in Hollywood. The remainder of the book is devoted to biographies on the writers and scriptwriters, the length of each depending on the importance of the author.

The impression left by this book is that the émigrés must be divided into two groups: those who, in their exile, simply withdrew and those who attempted to adapt to a new life in California. Not surprisingly, age and profession played a large part in determining how well the individual émigré adapted to Southern California, the region in which most of them settled because of the job opportunities offered in the Hollywood studios. The older Germans found living and working in Southern California much more difficult than did the younger ones, and of these, musicians and composers found exile less disruptive to their lives than did authors and actors, who were more dependent on language for economic survival. A few of the writers, especially the novelists Alfred Doeblin and Heinrich Mann, lived in total isolation, the Southern California community almost completely unaware of their presence. Yet others were celebrated and gained reputations that extended beyond the state, although it should be added that these writers included Thomas Mann and Franz Werfel, who were known before they arrived in California.

Another impression that is left by this book is that the émigrés' years in California had little impact on their writings and creative output, other than allowing them the freedom to continue writing and composing on subjects and themes that only occasionally related to California or their experiences there. On the other hand, it can be said that the composer Ernst Toch, the movie director Billy Wilder, and many other émigrés had a large impact on the region through teaching at local universities and through their work as actors, screenwriters, and directors in Hollywood.

The major weakness of this book is that the introduction is far too short and, consequently, fails to provide the reader with a much needed overview of the exiles' years in California. In addition, the editors apparently did not set down sufficient guidelines for the scholars who contributed essays, because a few of the articles, in particular the one on emigration and political radicalism, have very little to do with the subject of German émigrés in California. On the whole, however, Professors Spalek and Strelka are to be commended for putting together this important work that includes a companion volume of bibliographical material of value to anyone interested in further research on the émigrés. In fact, a short version of this book published in English and geared more toward American readers would be a significant contribution to the cultural history of California.

The Overland Mail, 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads.

By LeRoy R. Hafen. (Lawrence, Massachusetts: Quarterman Publications, 1976. 361 pp. Illustrations, maps. $25.00.)

Reviewed by Stephen D. Mikesell, *doctoral candidate in history at the University of California, Davis.*

Quarterman Publications is to be commended for making available again LeRoy Hafen's 1926 classic in its series on American postal history. *The Overland Mail* indeed represents a remarkable chapter in the development of the Postal Service, and Hafen's text is still the essential work on the subject. Hard-pressed to maintain communication with the territory of the Mexican Cession, Congress in the 1850's abandoned the traditional policy of postal self-sufficiency. It embraced instead a program involving massive subsidization of western mail carriers. These subsidies emboldened recipients and hopeful recipients into heroic achievements, some of which are now part of American folklore—the Pony Express, the stagecoach through Apache country, and so forth. Hafen focuses on the congressional background to these romantic deeds (while not neglecting romanticizing altogether), and his use of congressional and other governmental sources is a major contribution to our understanding of the subject.

Useful as it remains, the book can be dated to some extent by the factual and stylistic shortcomings of the decade in which it was written. Turrentine Jackson, for example, has shown that the corporate geneaology of the Overland Mail Company was considerably more complex than Hafen suspected. One also doubts that a writer today would repeat even the few romantic diversions in which Hafen indulges, such as "Snowshoe" Thompson's superhuman exploits, which he inherited from H. H. Bancroft and Charles Shinn.

One might also wonder why, in his thorough and intelligent use of congressional debates, Hafen dwelt so little upon the effects of sectionalism. He does use sectional rivalry to explain why the Overland Mail took a southern route and southern "States' Rights" objections to federal activism. But something more fundamental was involved. As David Potter showed in *The People of Plenty* and again in *The Impending Crisis*, communication is the *sine qua non* of nationality. Statesmen of the 1850's understood the danger the Mexican Cession posed for the Union, if they were unaware of its severity. This was the context of the frantic effort to establish western communication lines. The favors California received, in mail subsidies and other forms, owed largely to anxieties over the Union in the years between the Wilmot Proviso and the firing on Fort Sumter.

Nonetheless, the insights gained from time and newly-discovered archives detract surprisingly little from Hafen's work, and Quarterman does an excellent job of republishing the 1926 Arthur H. Clark book. The original plates, including maps and illustrations, are in perfect shape and are flawlessly reproduced.

Sketches of Old Sacramento.

Edited by Jesse M. Smith. (Sacramento: Sacramento County Historical Society, 1976. 252 pp. Illustrations, maps, index. $10.00.).

Reviewed by Ted Baggelmann, *noted California artist and a writer on Sacramento.*

This book was published by the Sacramento County Historical Society as a tribute to Dr. Joseph A. McGovan, retired Professor Emeritus at California State University, Sacramento. Most fittingly, ten of the twelve chapters were written by former students of Dr. McGovan. The book's editor, Jesse M. Smith, was Dr. McGovan's student, too.

Sketches contains a wide variety of subject matter, most of which reaches beyond the interest sphere of Sacramento. Bicycle enthusiasts, for instance, will love Beth Fulton's "The Capital City of Wheelmen," a spirited story starting during the 1890's covering bicycle races, excursions, and complaints about bumpy city streets and rutted county roads, in addition to moans over $5 fines for infractions such as wheeling without bell or horn.

Another chapter, "Sacramento on the Rise," was written for this tribute by Barbara Lagomarsino. She did a fine job recording the fight of a city to keep two rivers from its doors and the successful battle to raise the Central Business District to a grade above all previous floods.

"New Channels for the American River" by Eugene Hogawa is another river story. This one deals exclusively with the harnessing of the American River, the source of many disastrous floods.

Sacramento in 1849, gateway to the Sierra Nevada



In "Sacramento Prison Ship," Dolores Saunders follows the barque *La Grange* from Salem, with sixty-one New Englanders on board, to Sacramento, where the barque was stripped of all usable materials, before being sold to the City of Sacramento to be converted into a prison-brig. Those interested in the "Governor's Mansion"—the old one—won't be disappointed in the story written by Joseph M. Munizich, as he tells about the transition of a private residence into the official residence for the governors of California. Other chapters deal with Sacramento's first electricity, the coming of the telegraph, the Japanese, horse-breeding, and riverboat disasters.

One special contribution to the collection is by Dr. William N. Davis, Jr., California State Archivist, who compiled a number of little known records on deposits at the state archives dealing with Johann A. Sutter, the first white settler in the interior of California. Charles Hume, Professor of Drama at California State University, Sacramento, made the other non-student contribution which covers the first of the Gold Rush theaters and its actors.

The book is illustrated throughout. John Kaestner did the dust-cover, a job well done, and in the same category belong the short notes about the authors. My only regret is that Dr. McGovan was not listed as the Founder of the Sacramento County Historical Society. (Orders for the book can be placed with the Society at P.O. Box 1175, Sacramento, Ca. 95806.)

California Check List

Gary Kurutz, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1976-77) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

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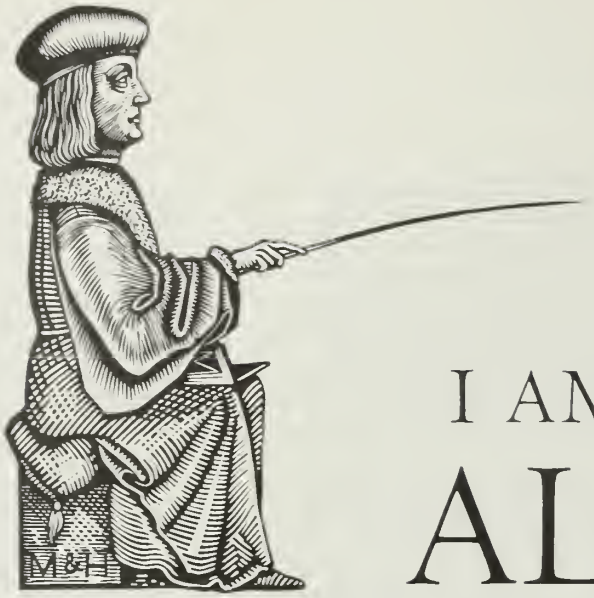
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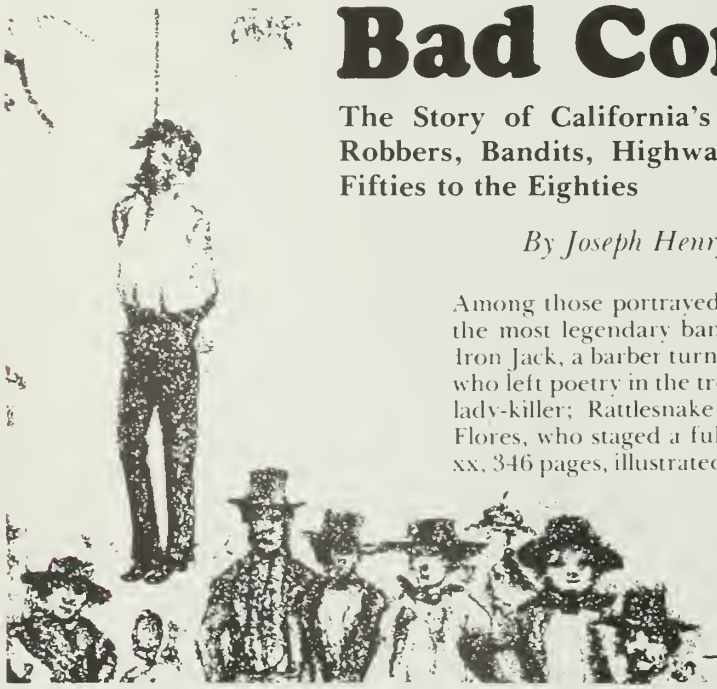
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